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# MARYLAND

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Convention of 1924

James Levin

Violence Along the Chesapeake and  
Ohio Canal: 1839

W. David Baird

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Annapolis and the First Continental  
Congress

David Ammerman



Vol. 66 No. 2

Summer, 1971

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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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## GOVERNOR ALBERT RITCHIE AND THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1924

By JAMES LEVIN

ALBERT C. RITCHIE, son of a successful lawyer and judge, entered the Maryland political scene in 1911 as the people's counsel who successfully forced the Maryland power companies to lower their rates. In 1915, at the age of thirty-nine, he won the position of Attorney General in his first attempt at elective office. In 1919 he was elected Governor by a plurality of only 165 votes. As the state's chief executive, his first term was notable for its administrative reforms and economical administration. In 1923 he was the first Governor of the state since the inception of popular elections of governors to be reelected. He began his second term with the establishment of a state merit system and other impressive reforms. Early in 1924 the first tentative sounds of a Ritchie-for-President move were heard.

No Marylander had ever served as President or Vice-President. Not since the early history of the Republic when the small State of Maryland was proportionally more important in

a smaller United States had any man from the State been in serious consideration for the two highest offices in the country. It was natural that Ritchie's first longings for the Democratic presidential nomination were expressed very tentatively, and it was equally natural that when his desires assumed the remotest probability of fulfillment that citizens from the State wished for success in the way a famished man hopes for water. That Ritchie's hopes fell far short of materialization in 1924 mattered little to the people of the state. He became a local hero. He could do almost no wrong in the state because nearly everyone was thinking of Ritchie's national ambitions. The whole state looked toward Washington.

The first and most tentative notes of a "Ritchie-for-President" movement were sounded early in January. The Democratic National Committee had decided not to have an annual Jackson day dinner because they feared intra-party strife. When he heard this, Ritchie planned his own dinner to celebrate the day. Three hundred and thirty-one guests were invited to Annapolis for a dinner in the State House, and the list included some prestigious names. The National Democratic Chairman, Cordell Hull, had accepted his invitation; later he declined because he became ill. But Senator Oscar Underwood of Alabama was present as were Bernard Baruch, Herbert B. Swope of the *New York World*, and several other nationally prominent figures. Guests from within Maryland included not only the usual list of Democratic politicians but representatives of the medical profession, several newspaper editors, educators and several wealthy businessmen and bankers.<sup>1</sup> Ritchie announced that any idea that the purpose of the dinner was to launch his campaign for the presidential nomination was "absurd," but he was doing nothing to discourage the possibility.<sup>2</sup> While the legislature was in session, the talk about the presidency was somewhat subdued, but Ritchie was dining very often with Judge Walsh, Ritchie's cousin, David Winebrenner and E. Brooke Lee in order to plan a political strategy that had little to do with the activities of the legislature.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diary, 1924, Ritchie Papers, MS. 710, Md. Hist. Soc.; Baltimore *Evening Sun*, January 5, 1924, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Evening Sun*, January 5, 1924, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Diary, 1924, Ritchie Papers.



Albert C. Ritchie as a young man. *Maryland Historical Society*

Ten days before the legislature adjourned, Delegate Yewell Dillehunt of Baltimore City introduced a resolution in the House of Delegates requesting that Ritchie announce his candidacy for the presidency. The motion was quickly passed, and it was possible that the move had been planned by Ritchie or his close friends. Publicly Ritchie answered by saying that he was gratified by the honor but that he was much too busy with Maryland legislation to give the matter real consideration.<sup>4</sup> It is doubtful that the Governor's modest pose deceived anyone. Actually the Governor had already begun to form an organization for the purpose of capturing the Democratic nomination for President.

Late in April Ritchie embarked on a set of speeches in several large eastern cities. On April 25 through April 27, he

<sup>4</sup> *Evening Sun*, March 21, 1924, p. 1.

attended meetings of the League of Women Voters in Buffalo. Next he went to New York City where he remained to canvass political support until the end of the month.<sup>5</sup> After a single day in Annapolis, Ritchie went to Pittsburgh where he spoke to a meeting of the leading Democrats of Pennsylvania. The content of Ritchie's speech there was unsurprising. Centralization would soon destroy American institutions, the Governor told his audience; we had already gone much too far down the path of increasing federal powers. Federal aid, Ritchie said, was simply a misnomer for federal interference. It was the duty of the Democratic Party to stop centralization immediately. Ritchie also recommended an amendment to tighten the process of amending the federal Constitution.<sup>6</sup>

Then, at the end of the month Ritchie shared the spotlight with Al Smith at a meeting in Baltimore of Negro Democratic delegates from eleven states.<sup>7</sup> These ventures outside of the state could hardly be considered a full scale campaign, but there can be no doubt that Ritchie intended to make himself "available" should the Democratic national convention look for a "new face."

Within the State Ritchie attempted to create a united Democratic block to take with him to the convention. The primary held on May 5 was extraordinarily quiet. Even the Kelly and Mahon factions in Baltimore City had settled their differences before the balloting. The Democrats did have two primary contests for Congressional seats in southern and western Maryland, but these were largely personal battles independent of the leading politicians. In western Maryland, Ritchie's cousin and close friend, David Winebrenner, won the nomination from three other Democrats, but Ritchie had refrained from active participation in the campaign.<sup>8</sup>

What tests of power there were came at the Democratic State Convention on May 15. The *Sunpapers* estimated that Ritchie controlled 112 delegates to the State Convention while former Senator John W. Smith controlled only thirty-five. On May 14, Ritchie met with Mahon and Kelly. The three men decided that they would name the state delegation to the

<sup>5</sup> Diary, 1924, Ritchie Papers.

<sup>6</sup> *Evening Sun*, May 3, 1924, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Evening Sun*, May 27, 1924, p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, May 5, 1924, p. 34, and May 6, 1924, p. 1.



national convention.<sup>9</sup> John W. Smith was not included in these deliberations because the three men knew that they could control the State convention despite his opposition. During that week Ritchie made another visit to New York to confer with Baruch and national leaders, and when he returned, he looked at a tentative list drawn by the two bosses.<sup>10</sup> The choices of the bosses vexed him. He announced that he would not approve them.<sup>11</sup> After much wrangling the bosses gave in to the Governor. Delegates were to be chosen by the state convention as representatives of the entire state rather than by local districts. Furthermore all state delegates would vote as a unit at the national convention.<sup>12</sup> This meant in effect that all the delegates would be chosen by Ritchie rather than by any local leaders and that all the men would, therefore, owe him their loyalty at the convention. However, general loyalty was not enough for Ritchie. He insisted on the unit vote system in order to be able to control any man who would try to vote independently on any particular issue. Mayor Howard Jackson and Senator William Curran were angry at both of the plans. They wished to attend the convention as more than decorative robots of the Ritchie bandwagon. When Ritchie had his way at the state convention, both Curran and Jackson announced that they would not attend the national convention, although they were on Ritchie's list of delegates.<sup>13</sup>

The State Democratic convention became a mere rubber stamp for the actions that Ritchie and the bosses had already worked out. The list was passed exactly as Ritchie had drawn it, and the delegation was instructed to vote by unit rule on all measures. The delegation included five delegates at large, and it was here that Ritchie made sure that he included some special close friends, J. Enos Ray, Robert Crane and Howard Bruce. Mrs. Mortimer West was selected to give women representation.<sup>14</sup> A little over a week later, Mayor Jackson relented and announced that he would go to the National Convention; Senator Curran said he might go if he were needed.<sup>15</sup> As the

<sup>9</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, May 15, 1924.

<sup>10</sup> *Baltimore American*, May 17, 1924.

<sup>11</sup> *Baltimore News*, May 19, 1924.

<sup>12</sup> *Sun*, May 21, 1924; *Baltimore Evening Sun*, May 22, 1924.

<sup>13</sup> *Sun*, May 22, 1924.

<sup>14</sup> *Evening Sun*, May 22, 1924, p. 46.

<sup>15</sup> *Sun*, May 30, 1924.

probability of Ritchie's chances to become the nominee of the National Democratic Party grew greater, internal state quarrels were dwarfed by comparison. Local politicians tended to forget state matters. Differences were hidden under a unified effort to boost Ritchie as the nominee by the time the delegation left for the national convention three weeks later.

There was a rousing farewell for Ritchie when the Maryland delegation departed from Baltimore's Camden Station on June 22nd. Ritchie, who wore a high Edwardian collar and a blue polka dot tie while he smoked a cigar, was cheered for fifty minutes by a crowd of well wishers at the station before the train arrived.<sup>16</sup> Presidential fever was beginning to sweep over the citizens of the state, a naive optimistic concern for its favorite son. The issues which disturbed the national party were unimportant to Marylanders who regarded the Ritchie candidacy with a single-mindedness that bordered on obsession.

The 1924 Democratic National Convention demonstrated the lack of cohesion within the party. Democrats were divided into two distinct factions whose views were nearly polarized on several important issues. One group, mainly from the South and West represented an older, rural America. These men were Bryanite liberals on economic issues; they desired greater government regulation of business and finance and more aid to agriculture. On social issues they vehemently supported prohibition and were in sympathy with many of the ideas of the Ku Klux Klan. The other segment of the party was mainly from the East and represented a developing urban America. These men were conservative on economic matters. They opposed government regulation of business and aid to farmers. Their heaviest voting support came from the Irish, Italian, Jewish and Eastern European immigrants in the large cities. These immigrants objected to prohibition because it interfered with their traditional customs, and so urban Democratic leaders led the fight against prohibition. Because the Ku Klux Klan directed its attack against the Catholics, Jews and foreigners, who were the strength of the urban political machines, the urban leaders opposed the Klan.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Evening Sun*, June 22, 1924, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup> William E. Leuchtenberg, *The Perils of Prosperity* (Chicago, 1958), pp. 133-134; John D. Hicks, *Republican Ascendancy* (New York, 1960), pp. 92-93.

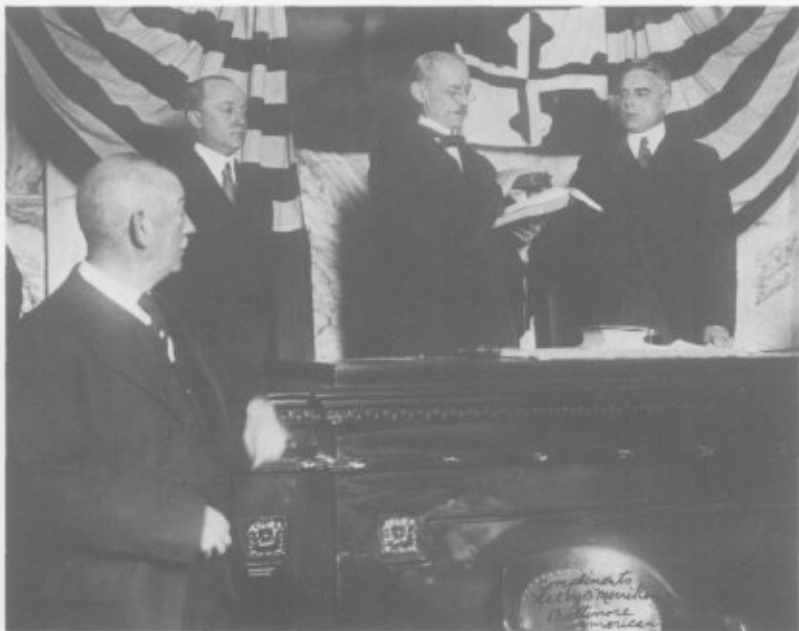
The difficulties caused by the Democratic division were increased by intensity with which the variant views were held. H. L. Mencken's articles in the *Baltimore Sun* demonstrated the urban view of the rural wing of the party. Mencken dismissed rural Democrats as little more than superstitious, uneducated hillbillies. On the other hand, the rural men who were often epitomized by William Jennings Bryan, saw the city as a breeding ground of sinful decadence which would subvert the moral strength of American democracy. In a few years the radio would help to narrow this cultural gap, but in 1924 the radio only magnified the split. When the American people listened on the radio to the first convention which was ever broadcast, many people were shocked by the strong language with which the delegates expressed their differences.

Each of the two leading candidates represented one of the groups. Al Smith, the Governor of New York, stood for urban America; William G. McAdoo, Wilson's son-in-law and former Secretary of the Treasury, was the candidate of the South and West.

Perhaps the problem of ideological divisions might have been overcome if the Democrats had possessed a powerful, charismatic leader who stood above factional differences. Nine months before the convention, William Gibbs McAdoo had clearly appeared to be just such a man. No longer encumbered by the presence of a father-in-law in the White House, McAdoo had made an open bid for the Presidency a year before the convention. He had gathered delegate support at a pace that made it seem as if he would be a runaway winner at the convention. But in the winter, the McAdoo bandwagon skidded on oil. Perhaps the most notorious scandal that was discovered in the Harding administration was that which involved the leasing of government owned oil lands by Interior Secretary Albert Fall. McAdoo was in no way directly involved in the illegal dealings, but he had served as counsel for some of the firms who were implicated. Many Democrats felt that McAdoo's chances of election would be marred by his relationship to the scandals of the Harding era.<sup>18</sup>

Men from the urban faction of the party then launched the candidacy of New York's popular Governor, Al Smith. Smith's

<sup>18</sup> Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday* (New York, 1931), pp. 85-87, 107-111.



Albert C. Ritchie being sworn in as Governor of Maryland, January 14, 1920 by  
Chief Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals, A. Hunter Boyd.  
*Maryland Historical Society*

strengths were his solid administrative abilities and his record as a progressive. However, Smith was also Catholic, the son of immigrant parents, and an outspoken wet. All of these factors made him abhorrent to the rural delegates.<sup>19</sup>

As the convention approached, the contest assumed the aura of a symbolic debate between the sections. Smith and McAdoo both became symbols of their sections, both idealized by their own followers and distrusted or feared by their opponents. Naturally attention was focused on Smith and McAdoo as the convention opened, but neither man really had much of a chance to get the necessary 2/3's vote required to win the nomination.

Local Maryland Democrats were aware of the differences on the major issues within the party, but they did not seem to

<sup>19</sup> Charles Judah and George W. Smith, *The Unchosen* (New York, 1962), Chp. I.

understand the emotional intensity with which the issues were held nor their larger symbolic significance. The strategy of the Maryland leaders reflected this superficial understanding of party factionalism. They planned mainly around Ritchie's attributes rather than the issues. They assumed that Ritchie's Protestantism would make him acceptable to the rural delegates, and his anti-prohibition stand would make him popular with the city men, but these ideas needed to be stated because of the intensity of the ideological difference in 1924. The Maryland men failed to do this.

The Ritchie people were familiar with the history of recent Democratic national conventions. Twice before there had been a leading candidate who had had close to a majority of the delegates and yet had failed to win the nomination. Frequently the two leading candidates in the earlier balloting had destroyed themselves and a leader of a minority had risen to second place. Then after several days balloting, he won the nomination with the necessary 2/3's vote. Woodrow Wilson in Baltimore in 1912 and James Cox in San Francisco in 1920 had followed this pattern. In 1924 it seemed that the stage was set for the same pattern. If the Democratic convention followed its regular course, both McAdoo and Smith would be eliminated. On this basis the Marylanders devised a plan by which they felt that Ritchie could be nominated.

What the Maryland delegates did not seem to notice was the strength of John W. Davis of West Virginia. Davis had served as a Congressman, as Solicitor General of the United States, and as Ambassador to Great Britain. Then he had resumed his career as a Wall Street lawyer. He was a highly capable man and a progressive in politics, but he was often described as a conservative Wall Street lawyer of no outstanding merit.<sup>20</sup> "The type," noted a political writer sardonically, "that street-railway conductors like to have for a superintendent, that is a 'mighty fine man.'" The Maryland delegation should not have been fooled by any stereotyped pictures of Davis. One of Ritchie's closest advisors at the convention was the Baltimore *Sun* editor, Frank Kent. A few days before the convention

<sup>20</sup> Theodore A. Huntley, *The Life of John W. Davis* (New York, 1924), p. 290; see William E. Leuchtenberg, *Perils of Prosperity*, p. 133 for the comment of a political writer, "the type that street-railway conductors like to have for a superintendent—that is a 'mighty fine man'."

even began, Kent had written a front page article in which he explained why the convention would nominate Davis after a Smith-McAdoo deadlock. Davis, Kent wrote, had only one political mark against him, and all the other candidates had more. In addition Davis' personal record was without blemish.<sup>21</sup> A year earlier newspaperman, David Lawrence, had written another front page article in the *Sun* explaining that Davis was the ablest Democrat running for President. Lawrence had depicted Davis as superior to Smith, McAdoo and others in intellectual attainment, legal achievement and international background.<sup>22</sup> The Maryland delegation failed to discuss how they could make Ritchie more attractive to the convention than Davis if a Smith-McAdoo deadlock occurred.

Ritchie's organization had actually been formed early in the year. Howard Bruce, President of the Baltimore Trust Company and Democratic National Committeeman from Maryland, was the leader of the inner circle of Ritchie strategy makers. He was the driving force in mobilizing support for Ritchie before the convention. Robert B. Ennis, chairman of the board of elections in Baltimore City and a Frank Furst protege, was included in the inner circle principally because of his ability in dealing with newspapermen and in issuing press releases.<sup>23</sup> One of the more boisterous Ritchie men was Dr. Hugh Hampton Young, an internationally known Johns Hopkins surgeon. Young was one of the physicians who had attended President Woodrow Wilson after his stroke in his second administration, but he was also famous for his research in urology.<sup>24</sup> Two very important members of Ritchie's inner circle were William C. Walsh of Cumberland and E. Brooke Lee. Walsh was a very able lawyer who later became Attorney General of Maryland and then served on the Maryland Court of Appeals. The other three men in the inner circle were Ritchie's former law partner, Stuart Janney, and two Baltimore Sunpapers men, Frank Kent and H. L. Mencken. Other political and business leaders in the state joined the campaign

<sup>21</sup> *Sun*, June 24, 1924, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Evening Sun*, 10 July 1923, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Interview of Colonel E. Brooke Lee with N. Thigpen, November 2, 1964, cited in Neal Thigpen, "The Presidential Aspirations of Albert C. Ritchie" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1966).

<sup>24</sup> Gene Smith, *When The Cheering Stopped* (New York, 1964), p. 108.

effort at convention time, but these eight men formed the hard core of the Ritchie for President organization.<sup>25</sup>

At informal meetings and discussion with Ritchie these men formulated a general strategy. They decided that Ritchie should not enter any presidential primaries and should limit his pre-convention speaking tours. At the convention, Maryland delegates would be instructed to keep their ears open and their mouths closed. Issues were to be avoided, while Ritchie's achievements in Maryland were to be stressed. The basic idea was to avoid offending supporters of any other candidate. Delegate support outside of the state was not to be solicited unless it came totally without conditions. Once the convention opened, the Ritchie men could have made a deal with either of the front runners to give him support at the beginning. Then if the front runner failed to win, he would give his support to Ritchie when he withdrew. However, the Ritchie men decided against using this path. They hoped to be able to draw support from both Smith and McAdoo men if a deadlock did result.

The betting odds on Ritchie were 8-1 when the convention opened on June 25, 1924. The Maryland delegates seemed pleased and announced that they would continue to follow the preordained strategy although some of the more fervent Ritchie men, including Bruce, Janney and Mackall admitted that they had difficulty observing the vow of silence with respect to canvassing out-of-state delegates.<sup>26</sup>

The meetings of the convention were held in Madison Square Garden in New York. In light of party division the choice of location was unfortunate, for New York was definitely partisan territory. New Yorkers demonstrated their biases not only in the galleries of Madison Square Garden, but throughout the entire city. Delegates were accosted by taxi drivers and elevator operators who boosted the urban hero, Al Smith. To make matters worse, New York was scorched by a severe heat wave, and the combination of heated issues and overheated bodies often bordered on disaster. At times the New York police force had to detail as many as one thousand men

<sup>25</sup> Hugh H. Young, *A Surgeon's Autobiography* (New York, 1940), p. 553; Diary, March-July 1924, Ritchie Papers.

<sup>26</sup> *Evening Sun*, June 24, 1924, p. 1.

to convention duty to keep the delegates and the spectators from assaulting each other.<sup>27</sup>

The first days of the convention were consumed by the speeches placing the candidates into nomination. Many names were presented, since many men besides Ritchie were hoping to be the dark horse choice of a deadlocked convention. They included Senators Carter Glass of Virginia, Oscar Underwood of Alabama, and Governor Silzer of New Jersey.

Ritchie's name was placed in nomination by Howard Bruce on the afternoon of July 26. Bruce's speech was a brief account of Ritchie's achievements as Governor and stressed his acceptability to farmers, labor and business. Only one issue was highlighted and that was states rights. Bruce ended his speech with the words:

What the party needs and what this nation needs is a man—the man Maryland offers as its nominee for President of the United States; the man who is the foremost champion of the doctrine of less paternalistic, less bureaucratic government in Washington and more freedom to the several states to regulate their own affairs—Albert C. Ritchie.<sup>28</sup>

At the end of the speech, the convention broke suddenly into spontaneous applause. The Maryland delegation had planned only a small parade, and when the speech ended, they filed out into the aisles as agreed, but much to their surprise other states and delegates followed along with them. Only the Delaware and Minnesota banners were found in the parade, but delegates from nearly every state ran out into the aisles and joined the growing line. Nearly everyone in the hall was standing to see the demonstration, and there was liberal applause from the galleries.<sup>29</sup>

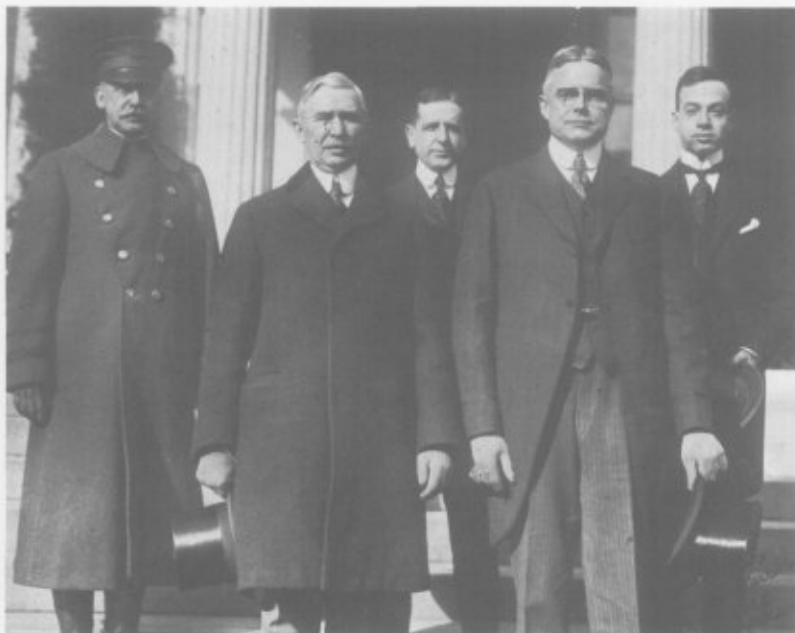
While General Milton A. Reckord led the parade, Dr. Hugh Young ran up on the rostrum beside the convention chairman, Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana, with the Maryland banner. However, that was still too low to satisfy the famous surgeon. He climbed on to the lecturn on which the speakers

<sup>27</sup> Leuchtenberg, *Prosperity*, pp. 133-134; Hicks, *Republican Ascendancy*, pp. 92-97; *New York Times*, June 27 and 29, July 1-3 and 6, 1924.

<sup>28</sup> Democratic National Committee, *Official Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention, 1924* (Indianapolis, 1924), p. 151.

<sup>29</sup> *Sun*, *Evening Sun*, *The Baltimore American*, and *The New York Times*, June 27, 1924.





Governor Albert C. Ritchie after his inauguration in 1920. Standing alongside him are Emerson C. Harrington, George L. Radcliffe, and Philip B. Perlman.  
*Maryland Historical Society*

rested their notes and waved the huge Maryland flag despite his perilous balance. E. Brooke Lee and Mrs. Jesse Nicholson followed to the speakers platform with other Maryland banners, and the band which had definitely caught the enthusiasm of the entire hall played the state song, "Maryland My Maryland," over and over again and finally changed to "Dixie" as the demonstration continued to grow. It was over one-half an hour before the convention calmed down sufficiently for the chairman to call the next speaker. Will Rogers noted, "Only Maryland and Delaware were in on this demonstration, but if they had as many votes as they had noise, Ritchie would be our next vetoer."<sup>30</sup>

Other spectators were even more impressed. The *Washington Post* commented that Ritchie's demonstration was much more impressive than Al Smith's because of its spontaneity.

<sup>30</sup> *New York Times*, June 27, 1924.

The Kansas City *Star* which had angrily described Ritchie as a symbol of the anti-prohibition issue admitted that his demonstration was the surprise of the day.<sup>31</sup> However, most pleasing to the Maryland strategists was the fact that odds on Wall Street on Ritchie dropped to 2½ to 1. These were reported as the shortest odds to be found in New York on any candidate.<sup>32</sup> The Governor's inner circle used these odds to confirm their opinions that many delegates were just waiting for the front running candidates to fade before they switched to Ritchie. They considered their strategy to be successful and decided not to alter it in the slightest.

Ritchie's nomination was seconded in a speech given the following day by Mrs. Clarence (Madee) Renshaw of Pennsylvania notable mainly for its flowery rhetoric. "Are we breaking the Tenth Commandment if we covet our neighbor's Governor," she asked.<sup>33</sup> Ritchie was only one of several candidates who was seconded by a woman in 1924. The speech created no special stir, but enthusiasm continued to remain very high in the Maryland delegation at the convention.

At this point the inner circle at the convention decided that Ritchie demonstrations in Maryland might help the Governor's chances at the convention. A mass meeting was planned for Baltimore's City Hall Plaza for Saturday night, July 29. Ritchie's backers hoped that the politicians in New York would read about the demonstrations in their Sunday newspapers at which time it was expected that the two leading men would have eliminated each other. George Iverson, one of the convention delegates from Baltimore City, was chosen to take a report of the plans from the steering committee in New York to city council president Bryant who would lead the rally in Baltimore.<sup>34</sup>

The idea of Ritchie-for-President rallies spread quickly through the entire state, and on the night of the 29th Ritchie demonstrations were held not only in Baltimore but in every town of 2500 or more people in Maryland. Over 5,000 people were reported to have gathered in Cumberland, Hagerstown, Annapolis, Salisbury and Cambridge in a rather amazing show

<sup>31</sup> Clipping in Ritchie Papers.

<sup>32</sup> *Sun*, June 27, 1924.

<sup>33</sup> *Official Report of The Proceedings*, p. 193.

<sup>34</sup> *Evening Sun*, June 27, 1924, p. 52.

of solidarity for their favorite son. The largest rally, however, was held in Baltimore. Fifteen thousand people crowded into Baltimore's War Memorial Plaza. Because politics was still a new field for women, almost all the demonstrators were men, and because fashion's dictates were still exacting, almost all of the men wore the same type of cream colored straw hats with dark cloth bands. Some photographs of the demonstration appear to have city council president Bryant addressing a sea of hats.<sup>35</sup>

The Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company set up special loudspeakers so that everyone could hear the speeches lauding Ritchie. In order to demonstrate the Governor's ability to attract bi-partisan support, both Democrats and Republicans had been chosen as speakers. The Republicans were all prominent businessmen, but none was identified officially with the party organization. The people at the rallies worked themselves into a state of great enthusiasm.<sup>36</sup> The thought of having a presidential nominee from the state was definitely the most exciting event of the humid summer.

The demonstrations impressed the inner circle of Ritchie supporters at the convention, but it is doubtful that they caused much of a stir among the delegates from other states who were still debating the controversial plank involving the Ku Klux Klan that day. Ritchie, however, was personally gratified by the display of support given to him in Maryland. Later in the evening he gave a radio talk to thank loyal Marylanders at home.<sup>37</sup>

At that time the delegates were concerned about the framing of the platform which had shown the rifts in the party all too clearly. Several issues such as the stand on the League of Nations and Prohibition caused battles, but it was a decision about the Ku Klux Klan that ended all hopes of harmony. The platform committee had tried to effect a compromise on the issue by stating that the Democratic Party was in favor of religious freedom and civil liberties without mentioning the Ku Klux Klan. A minority on the platform committee wrote a plank which asked for outright condemnation of the Ku Klux Klan by name. Both planks were submitted to the floor

<sup>35</sup> *Sun*, June 30, 1924.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, June 29, 1924; *Baltimore American*, June 29, 1924.

<sup>37</sup> *Sun*, June 29, 1924.

of the convention. The bitter contest was decided by a vote of 542-3/20 to 541-3/20 in favor of the majority plank.<sup>38</sup> The split in the party was all too clear. Many people realized that this meant that no Democratic nominee would have much of a chance to win in November. However, it also confirmed once again the idea of the Maryland delegation that waiting for a deadlock was the proper strategy.

The following day the voting for the Presidential nominee began, and Ritchie's support was considerably less in evidence than when his name had been placed in nomination. On the initial ballot, Ritchie received 22½ votes. In addition to 16 votes from Maryland, he won 3 votes from Illinois, 2 from Minnesota and 1½ from Pennsylvania.<sup>39</sup> On the next ballots Ritchie's total rose or fell by a few votes. At one time he received one vote from Hawaii; on another occasion, he got 1-4/10 votes from Connecticut. Only once did the Ritchie total go over 25 votes. On the eighth ballot, Louisiana cast her 20 votes in Ritchie's column, but this was merely a complimentary gesture. Louisiana was giving each of the candidates from a southern state her vote on one ballot or another.<sup>40</sup>

But the Maryland men were hardly worried about the lack of a big vote on the early ballots. The deadlock between McAdoo and Smith was clearly a reality just as they had hoped. Their task was now to make Ritchie the most acceptable compromise candidate after delegates began to desert the front runners. They decided to copy the method that Woodrow Wilson's campaign staff had used in 1912 and concentrated their attention on individual delegates rather than look to support from entire delegations. The pro-Ritchie spirit spread to everyone in the Maryland delegation. William Curran who had announced after the state convention that he would not be a delegate to the National convention because he objected to being tied to Ritchie, now became a fervent Ritchie backer. On the night of June 30 after the first day of balloting, he remained up late at night planning strategy with Ritchie after the convention sessions had ended.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Official Report of The Proceedings*, p. 217, The Maryland delegation voted 16-0 for the minority report.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 325.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 383.

<sup>41</sup> *Evening Sun*, June 30, 1924.



Governor Albert C. Ritchie addressing an audience on Maryland Day, Sesquicentennial celebration, Philadelphia 1926. *Maryland Historical Society*

The next day the convention remained deadlocked between Smith and McAdoo, and the Ritchie men issued more optimistic statements. When the convention remained stalemated on the third day of continuous ballot, many people began to feel that something special was occurring. By ordinary standards, the leaders should be beginning to lose votes, but this was not happening. Still the Ritchie men held to their preordained strategy and announced that the vote would swing to Ritchie on the following day. Underwood and Ralston were reported to have too limited followings. Cox had been beaten too badly in 1920 to be chosen a second time. John W. Davis was counted out because he was considered unacceptable to William Jennings Bryan. The conclusion then was that Ritchie would be the choice of the convention. But the fourth day passed without any visible movement in the standstill, and the Ritchie vote total remained near twenty votes on each ballot.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Official Report of The Proceedings*, p. 478.

On Thursday, July 3, the Ritchie headquarters was moved from the Waldorf-Astoria to the Madison Square Hotel which was directly across from the convention, but the Maryland men did not change their plans. They still spoke of Ritchie's abilities, and they avoided talking about the issues that were by then obviously of great importance to the delegates. From the new headquarters, the Ritchie campaign staff continued to issue similar optimistic statements.<sup>43</sup> The convention remained deadlocked for a fourth day and a fifth as the record for the most ballots ever taken was reached, passed and then left far behind. When the convention voting had continued for an entire week, Will Rogers wrote, "This has got to come to an end. New York invited you people here as guests, not to live."<sup>44</sup>

On Sunday, July 6, some of the Democratic leaders met in a private conference to see if there was some way to reach an agreement on a nominee. Howard Bruce and E. Brooke Lee attended the conference and offered Ritchie's name as a compromise. Their suggestion received very little attention.<sup>45</sup> Many other candidates were trying to profit from the stalemate in the same way. In the actual voting John W. Davis remained solidly in third place.<sup>46</sup>

On Monday Ritchie appeared at the convention where he presented a plan to end the stalemate. He asked that each state release its delegates from their specific instructions. Ostensibly this was suggested to allow individuals the freedom to desert the two leading candidates despite the fact that Smith or McAdoo still had the support of a majority of the delegation. This would erode the vote of the leaders, and then wholesale desertions would occur which would allow the choice of another candidate.<sup>47</sup> Ritchie privately hoped that the strategy of his followers would finally be effected and individual delegates from all over the country would now vote for him, and there would be a bandwagon to his candidacy. Also the Marylanders hoped that his presence at the speakers' rostrum might stampede the convention which by then was truly desperate

<sup>43</sup> *Evening Sun*, June 30, 1924.

<sup>44</sup> Leuchtenburg, *Perils of Prosperity*, p. 133.

<sup>45</sup> *Evening Sun*, June 30, 1924.

<sup>46</sup> *Official Report of The Proceedings*, pp. 400-758.

<sup>47</sup> *Evening Sun*, June 30, 1924.

for a candidate. But the results fell far short of these lofty expectations. On the 86th ballot Ritchie captured 6 votes from Nevada and 1 from Hawaii to give him a total of 231½ votes. The only other sign of movement towards Ritchie was on the 96th ballot when Illinois gave Ritchie 5 votes.<sup>48</sup> Some observers saw this as a test move by powerful Boss Brennan of Chicago, but once again the Ritchie attempt faltered without further support.

On the 100th ballot, Smith and McAdoo both agreed to release all their delegates from pledges of support, but by this time even the Ritchie supporters were finally coming to the end of their ability to find something optimistic about each ballot. Ritchie took the rostrum on the 101st ballot and announced that he was withdrawing in favor of John W. Davis. Davis was nominated two ballots later as the longest balloting ever for a presidential nominee sputtered to an anti-climatic end. Ritchie spoke again and requested that a committee be appointed to escort the candidate to the rostrum as he came into the hall. Senator Alben Barkley, who was running the convention at the time, accepted Ritchie's motion and then appointed Ritchie, Charles W. Bryan of Nebraska and Senator Owen of Oklahoma as the committee to welcome Davis.<sup>49</sup>

At that moment some people felt that Ritchie might be selected as the candidate for Vice-President. It is possible that John W. Davis actually would have preferred Ritchie, but tactical considerations forced Davis to pacify the Bryanite men of the party who feared Davis' Wall Street connections. William Jennings Bryan's brother, Charles Bryan, the Governor of Nebraska, was therefore chosen as the Vice-Presidential nominee.<sup>50</sup>

Ritchie's plans had failed according to Mark Sullivan because the eastern leaders would have rather had John W. Davis or Oscar Underwood as their compromise choice. By failing to discuss the issues, the Maryland delegation had failed to show many people why Ritchie would have been a better choice than either of these other men. It was not a year to hedge on issues. By failing to recruit out of State delegate

<sup>48</sup> *Official Report of The Proceedings*, p. 803.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 988.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1017; *Evening Sun*, July 1, 1924.

strength or to bargain with other candidates, Ritchie did not create a picture of mass appeal as a compromise nominee as did Davis. Too many rural men thought of Ritchie as a wet; few men thought of him as having a genuine national appeal. The campaign strategy which the Maryland delegation followed with such loyalty did nothing to dispel these images. However, Ritchie was a comparatively young man, and he had shown shrewdness in suggesting the committee to escort John W. Davis into Madison Square Garden. He left an image of statesmanship in the minds of many delegates, and thus, he kept open the doors for 1928.

Within Maryland Ritchie's candidacy greatly enhanced his popularity. Citizens of the state were so pleased by the unusual circumstance of having their Governor in the race for a national presidential nomination, that they read all the optimistic accounts of the Ritchie backers in the local newspapers without noticing just how far from nomination Ritchie had actually been. To Marylanders, Ritchie had made the nation notice their state and they were pleased and excited. Ritchie was met at the station on his return to Baltimore by a large crowd of approving citizens.



# VIOLENCE ALONG THE CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO CANAL: 1839

By W. DAVID BAIRD

IN August, 1839, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal suffered one of its more violent labor riots. Seldom noted by historians of the period, this Allegany County disturbance now appears to have been something more than just a minor incident in the story of American labor-industrial relations. Indeed it provides a fascinating example of socio-economic conflict in the early nineteenth century, foreshadows the course and consequence of later violent confrontations and sheds some light on the historical debate concerning the nature of Jacksonian democracy. Undoubtedly, then, it deserves more careful consideration by students of the American past.

Chartered in 1828, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company began immediate excavation of a Potomac River canal that would ultimately connect the Trans-Appalachian West with the Chesapeake Bay area. Stockholders, including the State of Maryland, entrusted general direction of the corporation and the construction to a President and Board of Directors, who in turn relied upon a Chief Engineer to implement day to day policy in the field. To do the actual construction of the bed and locks of the canal, the company depended upon several contractors who employed first indentured servants but finally Irish and German immigrants to do the necessary manual labor.<sup>1</sup>

Construction proceeded with few interruptions until 1834 when a series of labor riots brought an abrupt halt. An armed conflict in January of that year between rival Irish laborers left five dead and at least that many more wounded. When the Maryland militia proved incapable of quieting the disturbance, the canal company requested the assistance of federal troops. President Andrew Jackson responded by dispatching regular army units from Fort McHenry, whose presence along

<sup>1</sup> Walter S. Sanderlin, *The Great National Project: A History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal* (Baltimore, 1946), pp. 57-78. This is by far the best general study of the canal, though only one paragraph is devoted to the 1839 riot.

the canal for the next twelve months restored a measure of industrial peace.<sup>2</sup> This intervention into a labor dispute by the United States military was the first such instance in American history, and at least one historian, Professor Richard Morris, finds it an example of Jackson's insensitiveness to the aspirations of organized workers.<sup>3</sup> Yet even this show of national force failed to prevent other disturbances; at least five more occurred in the interim before the tragic confrontation of August, 1839.<sup>4</sup>

The riot of that year began on Sunday, August 11, supposedly a day of rest. One hundred Irish laborers, armed with "guns, clubs, and other deadly weapons," assaulted sections 281 and 193 of the canal, points operated by German contractors and laborers and located between Hancock and Cumberland, Maryland. The attackers destroyed the living quarters of the men from Germany, stole everything of value, and roughed-up all who objected. Working quickly, they left fear, devastation, and one person mortally injured.<sup>5</sup> Incensed by this onslaught, Father Guth, a Catholic Priest among the Germans, attributed it and similar ones to "highway robbers" and "incarnate devils" crazed with liquor and emboldened by the lack of law and order.<sup>6</sup> The good Father's assessment of the violence, though not entirely unbiased, closely paralleled that of the company's.

The management of the C. & O. laid the blame for the riot of 1839 squarely at the feet of the Irish laborers. These immigrants from Cork and Longford counties, when not fighting each other as in 1834, joined together in a "secret party organization" to drive industrious German workers from the canal. Led by "trouble makers," emboldened by whiskey, convinced "that in the mountains of Allegany County no force could be brought to bear upon them," the sons of the Emerald Isle successfully limited the supply in the labor pool and in so doing, forced the company to pay higher wages. Chief Engi-

<sup>2</sup> Thomas J. C. Williams, *A History of Washington County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1906), pp. 223-224.

<sup>3</sup> Richard B. Morris, "Andrew Jackson, Strike Breaker," *American Historical Review*, LV (Oct., 1949), p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> Sanderlin, *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal*, pp. 119-122.

<sup>5</sup> John R. Brook and Jarab Peel, Allegany County, to General Otho H. Williams, Aug. 15, 1839, Pitchlynn Papers, Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

<sup>6</sup> Father N. Guth, Old Town, to Sir, Aug. 13, 1839, *ibid.*



A view of the lock below the cut leading to the canal tunnel, ca. 1865.  
*Smithsonian Institution*

neer Charles Fisk, however, considered the practice tantamount to blackmail and the resulting wage rate exorbitant. He was quick to recommend vigorous state measures to counterbalance any worker recalcitrance, especially the August disturbance.<sup>7</sup>

In contrast, the Irish laborers refused to accept the blame for the violence and instead attributed it to economic conditions and corporate culpability. The financial condition of the company, always questionable, was seriously weakened by the Jacksonian Panic of 1837. Management, however, ascribed its deteriorating position to the high cost of labor, a view that encouraged some contractors in 1837 and 1838 to default on their payroll and others to pay off at a rate of twenty-five cents

<sup>7</sup> Charles B. Fisk, Annapolis, to George C. Washington, Feb. 5, 1838, Letters Received, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, Record Group 79, National Archives; Sanderlin, *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal*, pp. 117-122.

on the dollar. The Irish responded on these occasions by destroying the work for which they remained unpaid, a course of action that so antagonized the contractors that they then refused even partial payment. The company also reacted by suspending area operations and by firing those responsible for the demonstrations. And if that were not enough, those dismissed were frequently replaced by German, Dutch, and native American laborers at reduced wages. Thus, by August, 1839, the Irish workers had concluded that vigorous, perhaps violent, measures were necessary if contractors were faithfully to meet their payrolls, if wages were to continue at a subsistence level, and if job opportunities were not to be severely restricted.<sup>8</sup>

Questions of wage levels and job opportunities, then, caused the riot of 1839. As these two issues had been important in earlier disturbances, why is the outbreak of that year distinctive and worthy of special attention? There are two reasons. First, the importance of the issues for both labor and management increased with each violent confrontation, culminating in the August encounter. Second, the consequences of the riots were different. On the one hand, the earlier disturbances, with perhaps the exception of 1834, had significance only in that they anticipated another one. On the other, the violence of 1839 had widespread consequences and important ramifications, not only for mid-nineteenth century Maryland but also for twentieth century America.

An immediate result of the August 11 attack was the restoration of "law and order." As on previous occasions, company officials and area residents looked initially to the militia to perform this task. On August 15, two Allegany County justices of the peace demanded that General Otho H. Williams, Commander of the 2nd Brigade of Maryland Militia, Hagerstown, Maryland, order out troops sufficient to quiet the "insurrection."<sup>9</sup> By now an old hand at policing the canal, Williams simultaneously wrote Governor William Grason in Annapolis requesting necessary authority and dispatched a small contingent of Hagerstown cavalry led by Colonel Hollingsworth to secure reliable information about the extent and the nature

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Brook and Peel, Allegany County, to Williams, Aug. 15, 1839, Pitchlynn Papers.



Stock certificate of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, March 1838.  
Maryland Historical Society

of the riot.<sup>10</sup> Two days later, the General received both Grason's authorization to muster the militia and Hollingsworth's report. As the cavalry Colonel had found the canal area terribly apprehensive and the Irish laborers still hostile, Williams determined to act upon the authority granted him by the Governor. He directed the Washington County cavalry to remain on alert and ordered Colonel C. M. Thurston, a Cumberland resident, to raise in that community two companies of militia. But the General held up orders directing an immediate march. Instead, he requested Thurston to send still another team of agents to obtain even more definite information about the riot. Also, he wrote the Governor again requesting that the Chief Executive apply to the national government for federal troops sufficient to police the line.<sup>11</sup> Apparently, the General had some doubt about the long-run effectiveness of his own forces and the ability of the state to pay them.

On the morning of August 22, Colonel Thurston sent George W. Haller and G. W. Reid to obtain the information desired by General Williams. After forty-eight hours in the riot torn area, the two agents returned to Cumberland and filed a somewhat less than objective report. The violent assault

<sup>10</sup> Grason, Annapolis, to Williams, Aug. 18, 1839, and Williams, Hagerstown, to Colonel C. M. Thurston, Aug. 20, 1839, *ibid.* See also Washington, D. C. *National Intelligencer*, Aug. 24, 1839, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Williams, Hagerstown, to Thurston, Aug. 20, 1839, Pitchlynn Papers.

of earlier that month, they declared, was only one in a long series of such aggravated cases. The Irish held from 600 to 800 firearms, were governed by secret societies, and committed daily robberies and murders. Still, despite the seriousness of the situation, the agents did not advocate that the militia then in readiness be dispatched into the troubled area. No evidence could be collected against the rioters as witnesses remained silent for fear of reprisals. Unable to make arrests, upon the withdrawal of the troops the Irish would be even more "impudent." As the citizen soldiers could not make the proper impression, Haller and Reid recommended that the federal government send troops to "purge" the line and awe the laborers.<sup>12</sup>

The report of the agents persuaded Thurston to postpone his march. It seemed imprudent for the rabbit-like militia to attack the Irish hounds. He advised General Williams of his decision, but indicated he would take action if the circumstances changed. Hopefully, Charles Fisk, the Company Engineer, who had gone into the area, might obtain information that would permit a rapid march against specific objectives. In the meantime, Thurston agreed that federal troops might be judiciously employed to police the canal permanently.<sup>13</sup>

While calls for regular army assistance multiplied, Governor Grason in Annapolis had concluded that an appeal to the national government would be useless. A federal act of 1795 did empower the President of the United States to call out the "militia," but the Maryland militia was already in the field. Accordingly, Grason concluded that federal troops could not be legally employed.<sup>14</sup> The Governor, a Jacksonian Democrat and the first popularly elected executive in Maryland, apparently had no recollection of Andrew Jackson's use of national troops in a comparable situation in 1834.

Just when it appeared that the State would not respond to the demonstrators, General Williams received the information required to make militia action practicable. The evidence—names of the Irish involved in the August 11 riot—did not come from Fisk as might have been expected, but from Father

<sup>12</sup> George W. Haller and G. W. Reid, Cumberland, to C. M. Thurston, Aug. 24, 1839, *ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Thurston, Cumberland, to Williams, Aug. 24, 1839, *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Grason, Annapolis, to Williams, Aug. 24, 1839, *ibid.*

Guth, the Catholic Priest at Old Town. Guth on several occasions had been threatened by the Irish workers, and it possibly gave him some satisfaction to provide a roster of those whom he had recently labeled "highway robbers" and "incarnate devils." The General immediately forwarded the list to Thurston and ordered him to take "immediate and energetic measures" to silence and disarm those named by the priest. "If it should be found impracticable to procure evidence of their guilt," the General wrote revealingly, "they must be driven off the line with an order to the contractor not to suffer them to return to their work."<sup>15</sup> Designed to intimidate the Irish, such decisive steps were especially desirable as the Governor had declined to ask for federal assistance.<sup>16</sup> Orders and names in hand, Thurston marched the morning of Tuesday, August 27, more than two weeks after the actual riot. When joined by two troops of Washington county cavalry, his command numbered 150 men in all.<sup>17</sup>

Until September 2, when the Cumberland Colonel submitted his official report, the public knew little of the expedition save for occasional, ominous accounts in the newspapers. The Washington, D. C. *National Intelligencer* noted that the militia marched to "place the line in a better state of quietude by taking possession of all the arms" owned by the workers and to bring about the dismissal of those "who manifested a disposition to be riotous."<sup>18</sup> Three days later a correspondent reported to the editor that the state troops in fulfilling their orders had "adopted very decisive measures." Eight to ten rioters had been shot, while others "who made their escape across the Potomac were fired upon . . . while clambering the bluff on the opposite side of the river. . . ." The militia had destroyed some \$700 worth of firearms as well as a number of homes after their owners had refused a search request. "The proceedings of the troops seem harsh," wrote the *Intelligencer's* correspondent, "but are not so viewed by those whose situation has made them acquainted with past acts of violence. . . ."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Williams, Hagerstown, to Thurston, Aug. 24, 1839, *ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Williams, Hagerstown, to Thurston, Aug. 27, 1839, *ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Thurston, Cumberland, to Williams, Aug. 25, 1839, *ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *National Intelligencer*, Aug. 31, 1839, p. 3. See also *The (Baltimore) Sun*, Aug. 31, 1839, p. 2, and *Niles Weekly Register*, Sept. 14, 1839, pp. 37-8.

<sup>19</sup> *National Intelligencer*, Sept. 3, 1839, p. 3. See also *Sun*, Sept. 4, 1839, p. 2.



View of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. *Maryland Historical Society*

Colonel Thurston's report of the expedition to General Williams contradicted the impression left by newspaper accounts. He insisted that his command had performed with discipline and distinction. Leaving Cumberland early in the morning, it marched east twenty-three miles to Cesna, expecting to join forces with the cavalry units from Hagerstown. As Hollingsworth's detachment was delayed, Thurston the following morning pushed on to the canal hoping to surprise the laborers at least at one point. Using Guth's list as a guide, the militia identified, arrested and disarmed the rioters, destroying whatever weapons confiscated. Once the element of surprise was over, success in apprehending other Irish leaders diminished, but the arrival of the cavalry and Charles Fisk mitigated this difficulty. Fisk proved "very active and useful in collecting information and pointing out the guilty" and at his direction "two riotous and unlicensed houses were destroyed." For that matter "of the 40 or 50 shanties and shops destroyed in the course of the march, not one was touched except by [Fisk's] express order." The company engineer, a



civilian without official capacity, was making sure that the canal witnessed a full measure of law enforcement and a decrease of Irish influence.<sup>20</sup>

The next three days, according to the report, proved even more active. Thurston and his command captured and destroyed 120 weapons, tore down numerous shanties at Fisk's order, and took into custody others who had participated in the riot. One of those arrested by a detachment which had crossed into Virginia was accidentally shot and killed by a civilian cooperating with the militia. Furthermore, Thurston collected evidence—printed passwords and countersigns—that proved to his satisfaction that a secret organization did control the lives of the workers and possess 500 stands or arms. By late Saturday evening, August 31, after marching eighty-one miles in five days, he and the militia arrived back in Cumberland where they relinquished twenty-six prisoners to the civil authorities.<sup>21</sup>

Upon the release of Thurston's account of the expedition and its publication in regional newspapers, the *National Intelligencer* rejoiced that the loss of life and destruction of property as first revealed in its columns had been exaggerated. Its editor noted approvingly that only one laborer had been killed and only grog shops and disorderly houses had been torn down. But neither he nor the editor of the *Baltimore Sun*, who also reported upon the expedition, mentioned the role of the company engineer in what might be termed "corporate violence." For them, the situation demanded vigorous measures, and it made little difference who applied the telling blow.<sup>22</sup>

The consequences of the riot, though, extended beyond the immediate reaction of the militia and canal corporation. In previous disturbances, according to the company, the guilty had not been punished sufficiently to prevent continued involvement in labor disputes. This view partially explains the role of Fisk during the course of the militia march, and it wholly accounts for the action taken by the C. & O. before and during the trial of those twenty-six arrested on the expedition.

For the company the litigation offered an opportunity to

<sup>20</sup> Thurston, Cumberland, to Williams, Sept. 2, 1839, Pitchlynn Papers.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *National Intelligencer*, Sept. 5, 1839, p. 2, and *Sun*, Sept. 6, 1839, p. 2 and September 7, 1839, p. 2.



Chesapeake and Ohio Canal script, July 1840. *Maryland Historical Society*

make an example of those who had dared to attack “fellow” workers, to disobey the law, and to disrupt construction operations. Yet to obtain the evidence that would win a legal conviction was no small task. As few along the line would testify against the prisoners voluntarily, the company to gather the appropriate evidence hired James Finney, who, if not the first, was at least one of the earliest “labor spys” in American history.<sup>23</sup> Finney spent the next several days in the troubled area, interviewed eyewitnesses to the August 11 riot and collected data incriminating to the prisoners. From the company’s point of view he did his job well, and in mid-September three Allegany County magistrates bound over nineteen of the prisoners for trial on charges ranging from assault with intent to kill to riot and robbery. Of those not committed, one was sent to Hagerstown for trial, another gave a \$1000 bond to keep the peace, and four apparently were discharged.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Minutes of the Board of Directors, Nov. 6, 1841, Proceedings of the President and Directors, Vol. F, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, Record Group 79.

<sup>24</sup> *Sun*, Sept. 25, 1839, p. 2, and *Niles Weekly Register*, Sept. 28, 1839, p. 68. John Atwell, John O'Donnell, Patrick Reynolds, Hugh Agan, James Ferguson, Edward Kelly, and Hugh Murray were ordered to be tried on the charges of riot and robbery. John O'Donnell, John Doud, and Timothy Manrow were bound over on charges of assault with intent to kill, while Peter McNally and Patrick Moran were held for attempting to destroy a dwelling house. John Shan, John Joice, Felix Mallon, Daniel Guigan, and John Kelly were ordered tried on riot charges, while Martin Horton and Timothy Kelly were committed for assault. James Murray was ordered tried on robbery charges and Patrick Brady was sent to Hagerstown for trial on arson charges. John Cerr gave the \$1000 bond to keep the peace.

The trial for the Cumberland nineteen lasted from October 14 to October 31. Though records of it are scanty, Charles Fisk represented the company at the trial, while Finney apparently continued his testimony against the rioters. The collaboration of these two along with the general sentiment against the Irish resulted in the conviction of fourteen of the prisoners. Two received sentences to the penitentiary for seventeen and two-thirds years; seven for fifteen and two-thirds years; three for nine and two-thirds years; one for six and two-thirds years; and one for four and two-thirds years. Of the remaining defendants, four were acquitted and one was sent to Washington County for trial. The company had hoped for more convictions, but all things considered the trial and the earlier expedition had gained an important end. Riots and strikes would no longer be suffered along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. Each outbreak would be met with immediate military reprisals and vigorous legal prosecution. Or in other words, labor violence, whatever its cause, would gain only corporate violence, whatever its form.<sup>25</sup>

Not everyone, however, applauded the resulting order. Indeed some citizens of Allegany County complained that Colonels Thurston and Hollingsworth, with the assistance of Charles Fisk, had done their job with little regard for the rights of others. They protested that many of the shanties torn down belonged to individuals who had not participated in the canal riots and that those "riotous and unlicensed houses" which had been destroyed were nothing more than lawabiding wayside inns. Painting a picture more akin to the earliest accounts of the *National Intelligencer*, these complainants appealed to county authorities to institute suit against Thurston, Hollingsworth, and Fisk. In the case that resulted the Allegany County Court upheld the allegations and decided against the defendants, assessing a \$2737 judgment. The three appealed to the state legislature for relief, declaring that they had carried

<sup>25</sup> An Allegany Courthouse fire in the late nineteenth century destroyed the *Criminal Docket Books* containing the records of these cases. The extant *Criminal Index Docket Book* indicates the disposition of only eight of the trials. See, however, Charles Fisk, Cumberland, to President and Directors, Oct. 31, 1839, Letters Received, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, Record Group 79. Will H. Lowdermilk, *History of Cumberland* (Washington, 1878), p. 346.

out their mission as agents of the state, but the legislature turned a deaf ear.<sup>26</sup>

The decisions of the court and the legislature were only minor setbacks for the C. & O. The questions along the canal common to both labor and management—wage levels and job opportunities—had been decided in favor of the company. The militia expedition had smashed the ability of the Irish workers to intimidate competing work groups. This happy situation not only reduced the frequency of labor disturbances, but more importantly increased the supply of available workers. Accordingly, the cost of labor decreased with wage rates falling from \$1.25 to 87½¢ per day, which for the company represented a measurable victory.<sup>27</sup>

These tangible, economic results were obviously important, but perhaps the real significance of the 1839 riot lies elsewhere. For one thing, the company's use of the state police power to protect its investment pointed up a practice that soon became a tradition in American life. "Law and Order," as it did in 1839, would come to have more relevance to economic and social repression than to domestic peace and tranquility.

Furthermore, the dangers attendant to the use of citizen soldiers in quelling civil violence are also suggested. The Maryland militia undoubtedly became the instrument of the company's purge, enthusiastically reinstituting law and order. At least on this occasion, it made no attempt to analyze the justice of labor's demands. They could have hardly been expected to do otherwise, drawn as they were from the region most affected by the disturbance and most dependent upon the canal for future prosperity. Other National Guards would act similarly in succeeding decades.

Also, the 1839 conflict sheds some light on the origins of Jacksonian democracy. Professor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. in the *Age of Jackson* has offered the stimulating thesis that the democratic impulses of the 1820's and 1830's drew most of their sustenance from the eastern labor class, a socio-economic group

<sup>26</sup> Williams, *A History of Washington County*, p. 233. The actual court documents that might have contained a record of this case no longer exist. For this information special thanks go to Mr. Julius E. Schindler, President of the Allegany County Historical Society, Cumberland, Maryland.

<sup>27</sup> "Twelfth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, June 2, 1840," in *Niles Weekly Register*, July 4, 1840, p. 280.



View of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal lock at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, 1919. *Maryland Historical Society*

championed by President Andrew Jackson.<sup>28</sup> Professor Richard B. Morris, however, has challenged this view. Studying at length Jackson's use of federal troops along the Chesapeake and Ohio canal in 1834, he concludes that the President was a "strike breaker" and no friend to industrial employees. Accordingly, he looks elsewhere for an explanation of the emerging democracy of the era and Jackson's political strength.<sup>29</sup> If this presidential action had such far reaching implications, as Morris suggests, then one would expect to find at least some awareness of it five years later. Yet when local militia officers in 1839 urged an application for federal troops to police the riot area, they made no mention of 1834 as precedent for their requests. And Governor Grason, a man of public affairs who

<sup>28</sup> Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1945).

<sup>29</sup> Morris, "Andrew Jackson, Strike Breaker," pp. 62-68.

ought to have known, was so ignorant of his own state's experience that he considered a Washington appeal entirely inappropriate. If the deployment of the United States Army by Jackson had so little impact that its use was not remembered in the local area, how then can a case be made that the 1834 incident precluded labor's support of the President? Certainly, the strike of that year had only limited ramifications, was isolated and provincial in character, and had little relevance to the origins of Jacksonian democracy. Obviously it does not prove that President Jackson had any major antipathy towards labor. To deny Professor Schlesinger's thesis will require more appropriate evidence.

Finally, the riot of 1839 gives some insight into the use of violence as a means of obtaining social change and economic adjustment. The violent action taken by the Irish, however justified, gained them little save a large dose of repression and more violence. In this instance, as in numerous others involving industrial-labor relations during the nineteenth century, the workers might well have concluded that the "system" denied them their right to protest and their measure of economic justice. Perhaps it did. Yet when a century later labor abandoned violent confrontation in favor of non-violent, sit-down strikes, it converted public opinion to the justice of its demands and made significant economic advances. Working within the system instead of against it, workers came to share in the fruits of an industrial society. That violence is both unproductive and unnecessary is the most important legacy of the 1839 riot on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.

# THE BALTIMORE ALMSHOUSE AN EARLY HISTORY

By DOUGLAS G. CARROLL, JR.,  
and  
BLANCHE D. COLL

## Introduction

IT is commonly assumed that poverty and economic dependency are relatively new to American life. Students of history—particularly those who have read Robert Bremner's *From the Depths* or Sidney Lens' *Poverty*—know better, of course. Dependence on public assistance (to use the modern term) as well as poverty have existed in America from colonial times.

In the early years of our history as well as today, some dependency can be traced to individual circumstances—old persons or children without means of support, or physical and mental disabilities in persons of working age. But it was as true in the past as it is today that much, perhaps most, dependency can be traced to economic and social conditions. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, construction was among several trades employing unskilled workers which shut down during the winter months. Economic depressions occurred even during the colonial period, but during the nineteenth century they were more frequent, affected more persons, and lasted longer.

Less well known to social workers and historians than the early existence of dependency in America are details about measures taken to care for dependent persons. The history of the Baltimore Almshouse covering the period 1768-1819 that is reproduced below contains a good many of these details from the viewpoint of one who knew them as a poor law administrator.

This history of the Baltimore Almshouse, now published in full for the first time, is unsigned.<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt, how-

<sup>1</sup> Alms and Work House, filed under Property of the Poor, No. 5, Md. Hist. Soc.

ever, that the author is Thomas W. Griffith (1767-1838). The manuscript was found among Griffith's papers in the Maryland Historical Society and is in his handwriting.

Born in Baltimore in 1767, Griffith was orphaned at an early age. After the death of his parents, he lived with his grandparents near Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. He returned to Baltimore in 1776 to go to school and finished his education at a private academy in Delaware. Griffith then went to live in France where he witnessed the French Revolution. At first he was sympathetic with its aims, but as its course became more violent and tyrannical, he began to help members of the nobility escape. He was imprisoned for two years in Paris for these activities.

After Griffith's release in January, 1794, President Washington appointed him American Consul at Havre, a post he held until 1799. Returning to Baltimore, Griffith began collecting materials for his two books, *Annals of Baltimore* and *Sketches of the Early History of Maryland* which were published in 1821. Griffith earned his living by selling textbooks. In politics he was an ardent Federalist, the party of Hamilton and John Adams. In religion, he was a sceptic and Freemason. In 1817, Griffith was appointed a member of the Levy Court of Baltimore County. It was while serving on this Court which levied the poor tax that Griffith came into direct contact with the administration of the Baltimore Almshouse. His continuing interest in the poor is illustrated by a newspaper advertisement in 1826 where he noted that he gave "information to the Poor, gratuitously, in all matters within the jurisdiction of a City Justice."<sup>2</sup>

Although Griffith's history of the Baltimore Almshouse is largely a chronicle of legislation, administrative arrangements, and other factual data (which we have checked back to the sources and found accurate), it also contains a considerable amount of material about dependency and its causes and reveals attitudes, which, although they cannot be said to be

<sup>2</sup> (1) Evans, Henry R., "Thomas Waters Griffith, Freemason and Chevalier of St. Louis: His Experiences during the French Revolution," *New Age*, (Sept., 1918); (2) Griffith, Thomas Waters, "Sketch of the Revolution and Battle of the Tenth of August," (1795), in Md. Hist. Soc.; (3) Scarborough, Katherine, "Baltimore's First Historian," *Sunday Sun Magazine*, Dec. 27, 1953; (4) Thomas W. Griffith, *Reminiscences*, MS. 412.2, Md. Hist. Soc., covers his entire life.



other than Griffith's, probably also reflect the general thinking of the Baltimore community at that time.

Griffith's history reveals some striking similarities and some striking differences to our own time. Almshouses, of course, no longer exist as such. But we continue to institutionalize many of the same types of indigent persons as were cared for in eighteenth and nineteenth century almshouses—the aged, the physically and mentally handicapped, and children. Moreover, today all our large cities maintain public hospitals for the medically indigent which, in many cases, are the direct descendants of almshouses. Furthermore, as the Griffith history shows, the sick and the injured were given the best medical care available.

In discussing the taxes raised to provide almshouse care as well as relief to a limited number of poor in their homes (referred to as out-pensioners in the manuscript), Griffith makes no direct reference to public objection. This is perhaps due to his bias, which favored public rather than voluntary charity.

Doubtless with the French Revolution in mind, Griffith justified public charity largely in terms of its stabilizing effect upon the poor. He clearly believed that relief should be left in the hands of "experts" like himself rather than casual givers. Absent from the history are any hints of punishing the poor or stigmatizing them. Of particular interest are Griffith's remarks on the extraordinary measures taken to relieve the indigent during the economic depression which lasted from 1815 to 1821.

In order to make the history more readable, the manuscript was rearranged in chronological order; repetitions eliminated; and spelling, capitalization, and punctuation modernized. Otherwise, Griffith has been allowed to speak for himself with the aid of some explanatory footnotes.

## HISTORY OF THE BALTIMORE ALMSHOUSE

As there always was abundance of land uncultivated and high wages paid for labor in this country, there never were many persons chargeable on the inhabitants, and, those that were consisted of the infirm and insane.

Antecedent to the erection of almshouses—which are in fact, hospitals— the County Courts had levied tobacco [taxes] for the relief of the sick and infirm poor, from year to year, [just] as other county charges were levied. The year before [1772] the Baltimore County Almshouse was authorized to be erected, 240 persons were relieved in this county, then including Harford. The amounts levied averaged £1,200 each, the levies per poll on 10,000 taxables, being sometimes in the name of persons who had the poor in charge, but generally in the name of the person relieved—at his own home.

At the session of the Assembly in 1773, an Act was passed appointing Charles Ridgley, William Lux, John Moale, William Smith, Samuel Purviance, of Baltimore Town and Andrew Buchanan and Harry Dorsey Gough “Trustees for the Poor of Baltimore County” with corporate powers. A general Act of a similar nature had been passed in 1768 for the counties of Anne Arundel, Prince Georges, Worcester, Frederick, and Charles.<sup>3</sup> The Trustees were authorized to fill their own vacancies, and to elect one new member annually, in the place of the first named, and in succession.

Four thousand pounds in bills of credit of a larger loan made to [Baltimore] County, in common with other counties, were directed to be paid the Trustees, for the purpose of purchasing, “in fee a quantity of land in the said County, not exceeding 100 acres, near and convenient to Baltimore Town, but not within half a mile thereof; and to agree and contract with a workman or workmen, to undertake, erect, build, and in a workmanlike manner to complete and finish, on the said land, when so purchased, good, strong, sufficient and convenient houses, habitations and dwellings for the reception of the poor of said county, and of such vagrants, beggars, vagabonds, and other offenders, as shall be committed, and shall appropriate one part thereof, to be called the almshouse, to and for the reception and lodging of the poor of said county, and

<sup>3</sup> In 1768 (*Laws of Maryland, 1768*, Chap. 29), the Maryland Assembly enacted the first legislation for alms and work houses. The poor, the vagrant, and the sick were all to be housed in the same general area, with the able-bodied caring for the sick, raising produce, and carrying on housekeeping and supply duties. (In tracking down this law as well as others noted, “The History of Poor Law Legislation in Maryland” (M.A., 1941), by Isabel Platt Nelson has been most helpful).

another part or parts thereof, to be called the work house, to and for the reception and lodging of all such vagrants and other offenders," and also, to purchase sufficient beds, bedding, working tools, kitchen utensils, cows, horses and other necessities of which vouchers were to be produced to Court.<sup>4</sup>

The people were taxed at the rate of £12 of tobacco per poll, annually, until the sum was repaid to the Loan Office Commissioners, and which except in 1775 and 1776 was levied by the then sheriff, whose property, on his return to England, was confiscated to the State. . . . And £15 of tobacco per poll were authorized to be levied by the Justices of the County Court, as had been provided for individual poor before, "for the use, benefit and charge of maintaining the poor, vagrants, etc. in the purchase of provisions, and other necessities for use and labor; in paying a doctor for his salary and medicines; in providing men and women servants, to be under the management and direction of an overseer of such alms and work house, hereafter to be appointed; and in purchasing material, for the use and employment of the poor and all beggars, etc., who shall be able to work and who shall be committed by virtue of this Act."

The Trustees were directed to meet "on the 1st Monday of May, yearly, and at all such other times as they shall judge necessary, at the alms and work house—to appoint a fit person of said county to be the overseer of the alms and work house aforesaid, and such other proper officers and servants as to them shall appear necessary," and also, in the first week in February, May, August, and November, annually, or oftener, "to make all such good and wholesome ordinances, rules and bylaws, as they shall think convenient and necessary. The overseer was directed to keep a fair and regular list of all poor, beggars, etc. and also fair and regular accounts in writing, of all materials and other things coming to his hands as overseer aforesaid, and of all expense and charges attending their maintenance." He was to enter into bond with sufficient sureties well and truly to "discharge his duty in the said station," and was as well as all other officers appointed by the Trustees, removable at their discretion.

<sup>4</sup> *Laws of Maryland, 1773*, Chap. 35.

The Act of 1768 defined the term, "legal settlement," to include none but "poor who shall receive allowances, or be entered as pensioners by any County Court of this province, or who shall be householders or natives within any county—and if any person shall execute any public annual office, or charge in any county during one whole year, or shall be charged with and pay his public or county levy; and if any unmarried person shall be hired in any county for one year, such service during the space of one year; and if any person shall be bound an apprentice by indenture, or by any county court of this province, and inhabit any county, such binding and inhabitation shall be adjudged a good settlement." Providing for the removal of all such from the county where they may be to the place of their settlement, by any Justice of the Peace "unless he shall find security, to be allowed by the said Justice, for good behavior and discharge of the said county" and it was made lawful in both Acts, for any one Justice, and for any person authorized and appointed by such Justice, "to apprehend or cause to be apprehended any rogues, vagrants, vagabonds, beggars, and other idle, dissolute and disorderly persons found loitering or residing in the said county, city or town, corporate, who follow no labor, trade, occupation or business, and have no visible means of subsistence whereby to acquire an honest livelihood, there to be kept at hard labor for any term not exceeding three months," which power was afterwards, on the organization of a special Court of Ayer and Terminer for Baltimore County, transferred with additional powers, to said court; but on the adoption of the penitentiary in September 1811, the county work house was used, as was the prison, for the detention of such vagrants, until they should be duly convicted or acquitted.

It being discovered that the labor of the county vagrants did not indemnify the State for their maintenance in the penitentiary, the Act of 1804, compelling the county to provide for them, at the work house, when committed by the Judges, has therefore been lately revived, by a repeal of the Act of 1811, and the Trustees will be under the necessity of providing further accommodation for that description of persons. As a temporary place of confinement, the work house has seldom contained above a dozen vagrants at one time, latterly, but it is

probable that number will be increased in consequence of this change of system.

Few of this description of people differ, in any material aspect, from the common class of paupers here. They are not, as is generally believed, entirely indolent and corrupt, but often a better sort of poor, whose pride, or mistaken notions of charity, prevents them from applying for admittance to the almshouse, or to be put on the pension lists;<sup>5</sup> nor is it found that many of them are capable of labor sufficient to maintain themselves, as the managers of the penitentiary have witnessed.

Whatever relief the infirm and indigent may be entitled to from society, it was wisely left to the discretion of the Trustees to determine what poor individuals should be received into the almshouse. The discretion of intelligent men is the best known protection against abuses of charity; for, any certain condition or contingency, which should be universally known, to secure a public maintenance would infallibly encourage idleness and extravagance in the poor and increase the evils which the law intended to remedy. The bad effects of such a declaration would be not only to increase the number and expense on the public ultimately, but indulgences would immediately occur and increase, baneful to the morals of the people, and destructive of all society.

The present elevated and beautiful site of the almshouse was first purchased of Mr. William Lux for £350, containing 20 acres, being nearly in form of a square, northwest of the town, and as near it as the law would allow. The Trustees also erected the building, then laid out the grounds and planted them in the most advantageous and agreeable manner—excellent water being procured from two wells about 70 feet deep each with pumps.

The site overlooks the whole city and river, and is yet without the improved parts though within the present limits. As our almshouse was to be a refuge for those who were disabled by sudden accidents, or otherwise totally unable to support themselves and not the merely poor (who, in this country cannot suffer for a scarcity of bread or work), it was happily fixed within that moderate distance from the population and

<sup>5</sup> At this time "pension" meant a continuing public relief grant outside of the almshouse.

markets which renders the transportation of persons or effects no way chargeable to the public; where also the unfortunate incumbents can more readily receive the visits and comfort of pity and friendship, and the administrators apply their constant vigilance with the least sacrifice of their time or money; and where gentlemen versed in the science of bodily disease can meet those who administer relief to the souls of the poor freely and frequently, without inconvenience or expense.

The poll tax was abolished by the government and property only [made] liable for public charges. In (1776) 1777, the center and the northeast wing caught fire from flax in the garret, and all the wooden material of them [were] destroyed. The first was rebuilt soon after but the wing not until some years after. The mode of taxation was changed to the present by the Convention of 1776.

In 1792, very near 10 acres more were purchased of Mr. Russell, agent of Mr. Lux, for the sum of £167 .. 13.5, and added as a pasture by Messrs. Peter Hoffman, W. McLaughlin, Alexander McKim, David Brown, George Presstman, James McCannon, and Samuel Hollingsworth, the then Trustees, who with difficulty obtained the acquiescence of the County Court, and to which ground the burial place was removed from the south side of Howard Street when that street was extended 10 years after. Such during thirty years continued to be the plan of relief and government of the afflicted poor and vagrants of the county and city, gentlemen of benevolent minds and public spirit filling the office of Trustee in succession, gratuitously.

In 1793 the Trustees, or any three of them, were authorized "to bind out children under their care, giving a preference to tradesmen, and obliging the applicant to sign an indenture," and on other usual terms; and any one or more of the Justices of the Peace may take children who are destitute or suffering, or the children of beggars, and place them with some person until the meeting of the Orphans Court, whose province it specially is. But the county and criminal courts may also bind out the children of persons convicted, if under age and without property, and no apprentice can be carried or sent out of the State.<sup>6</sup>

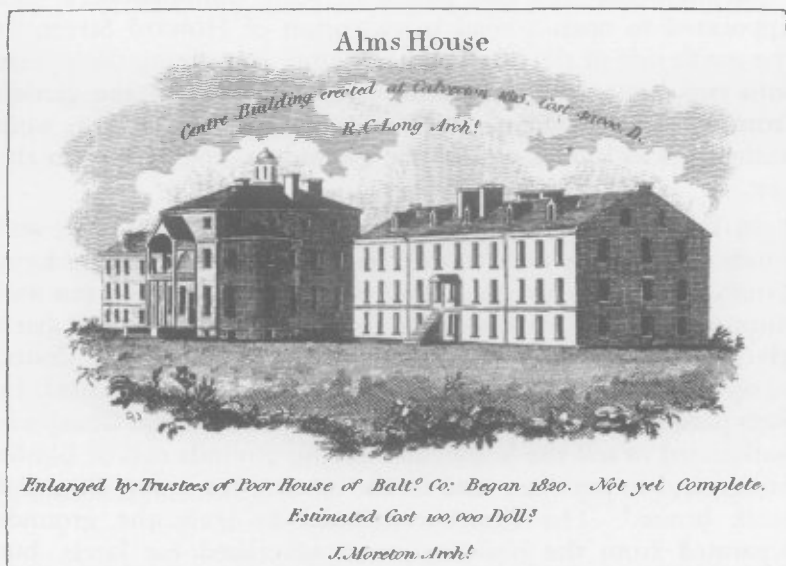
<sup>6</sup> *Laws of Maryland, 1793, Chap. 45.*

In pursuance of a law, passed in 1805, commissioners were appointed to open a road in extension of Howard Street, to the north side of the poor house ground, converting the square into two angles, and separating about one-half of the garden from the other, and from the buildings, and the Trustees were authorized to lease a part of the ground so separated from the rest.

In the same year the management of the poor house, and funds of the poor, were transferred to the Justices of the Levy Court, at their own request, and they proceeded to lay out and dispose of lots in pursuance of the authority which had been given to the Trustees, and which was increased in the Court, to open other streets and lots on both sides of the new road, by Acts passed in 1807 and 1811, until in 1816, the same Court was authorized to sell the house, and all the grounds east of Biddle Street, and to purchase land in the country for a new alms and work house.<sup>7</sup> The Court continued to lease the grounds separated from the buildings, and advertised for lands, but none were tendered them which were considered sufficiently eligible [desirable] and cheap to induce them to abandon the present extensive establishment, so conveniently placed as the present, (though wanting additional buildings) as there was no prospect of obtaining more than the value of the naked ground, and the proposed removal, purchase and building involving expenditures, which a mere experiment would not justify.

<sup>7</sup> Under the 1768 "Act for the relief of the poor," the Trustees in each county were authorized to "purchase, take, hold, receive lands, inheritance, gifts, etc.," to make laws and rules for setting the poor to work and punishing beggars, vagrants and vagabonds. Authority for the care of the poor was divided, however. The county justices were authorized to levy taxes, to appoint an overseer, and to meet four times a year to hear the overseer's report. Thus, the county justices held the initiative as to whether or not to collect taxes and how much to collect. In the final analysis the court, having the power of the purse could control the Trustees.

In 1805 there was a controversy between the Trustees and the members of the Levy Court. The Trustees claimed that they were not receiving sufficient money from the Levy Court to run the almshouse, (*Journal, Maryland House of Delegates, November Session, 1805*, December 24, 1805). The Levy Court replied that money could be saved in running the almshouse (*Ibid.*, December 26, 1805). The Legislature probably had more confidence in the Levy Court because the power of the Trustees was turned over to the Levy Court in 1807. The manuscript, "Levy Court Minutes Book (1806-1818)," is in the Maryland Hall of Records. It records the activities of the Levy Court in regard to the almshouse and out-pensioners from 1806 to 1818.



Almshouse. An engraving from the pictorial margin of the T. H. Poppleton map, "This Plan of the City of Baltimore," 1823. *Maryland Historical Society*

In 1817 all the powers of the Levy Court in relation to the poor house and its grounds were bestowed to a board of five Trustees to be appointed by the Governor and Council annually at the suggestion of the majority of that Court.<sup>8</sup>

Although the best disposed persons, who are not visitors or actual managers of the poor can be but indifferently qualified to appreciate their wants, so long as the County Court of Justice assumed the inspecting of the accounts of the Trustees, there appears to have been sufficient harmony between them to secure a maintenance for the aged and infirm poor inhabitants of the county and city, for the accounts to be produced by the Trustees to the Court were soon made up and settled on the completion of the building. But in 1798, the general charges of the county fell under the exclusive cognizance of a District Court, chosen at first from among the Justices of the Peace and called Levy Court, a great majority of which were to be from the county, and they finding the city poor increasing

<sup>8</sup> *Laws of Maryland, 1817, Chap. 87.*



faster than the assessable property undertook to control and restrict the Trustees in their appointment.

By these guardians of the treasury, the Trustees were almost driven to their own means of gardening and spinning exclusively, and though the number of patients did not vary much from that at the commencement of the institution 25 years before, considerable debts were created, and when, in 1805, the Trustees relinquished to the Court—a duty made more painful by being deprived of its only gratification, that of administering sufficient relief to suffering humanity—the latter were under the necessity of laying an extra levy of \$6,000, or nearly as much as had been levied for the whole expense of any one year by the Courts of Justice.

It appears from a comparison of the number of poor relieved prior to the Revolution and erection of the almshouse as stated, with that of different periods prior to the year 1817, that the increase was small indeed, if any, the average number of the preceding year being 230, there being about 40 persons then relieved in Harford County, and by no means proportionate to the increased number of inhabitants. Nor is the difference of expense as exhibited in the same documents any way proportionate to the difference in modes of living; or the prices of the labor and necessities of life. Should we take the article of tobacco, in which the levies were made, and of which £288,000 were levied 47 years ago, at its late value of \$14 per hundred pounds, the result would be that the sum levied for the use of the poor of Baltimore and Harford together at that day was more than half that which was levied before the Revolution. But, taking other articles for a guide, it might appear that the same number of poor are maintained for what they were then. Doubtless Baltimore enjoys extraordinary local and commercial advantages calculated to promote the ease and fortune of individuals generally.

The fact does not prove that the general map of affliction is stationary, or that the increase of our population is not commensurate with the blessings of our institutions and general prosperity. The experience of many civilized nations shows that the number of afflicted poor will increase in a compound ratio to the increase of inhabitants, and a reference to one of the well-known causes of disease and pauperism here, inebriety,

destroys the inference which patriotism and a humanity would fondly draw from such premises.

Besides, the back lands which would offer a general resource to a surplus population, if it existed, tempt the young and hale, but not the halt and aged who remain on our hands. At different periods the afflicted poor of this county, and especially those resident in the city have been compelled to ask assistance to pass them through the winter; and in that of 1816, both the government of the State, and that of the city, provided extraordinary relief. Exclusive of \$2,000 expended by the Levy Court under a special Act of the Assembly and in addition to the usual levy, a sum of \$15,000, equal to the particular levy for the poor that year, was raised by voluntary contributions of individuals of both sexes, and though unaccustomed to view the effects of poverty, the same benevolent motive drove them into all the alleys and haunts of misery to administer their charities.

So early as 1780, it was thought necessary to procure outdoor assistance to the Trustees, and with this view, private citizens collected and distributed relief in bread, meat, fuel and clothing in that inclement season, and at many different times afterwards, until in 1792, a society was incorporated, to be composed of one clergyman or minister of every religious sect, and if none, a layman, with power to receive bequests and collect alms, and employ the proceeds in relieving the poor and educating poor children, but it does not appear that it was attended with any beneficial effect, and the provisions of the law are now totally neglected.<sup>9</sup>

So it was [also] in the case of the temporary committees raised by the corporation and sanctioned by law in 1814 for establishing a House of Industry, where the able poor were to be found employment by the vigilance of others, and all the necessitous furnished with occasional support at the cost of the benevolent, although money was raised and ground bought on a convenient and central situation.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The society formed in 1792 was called "The Corporation for the Relief of the Poor and Distressed of every Sect or Religious Denomination Whatsoever." Its object was to stimulate the organization of voluntary charities in Baltimore. The Corporation planned to build an asylum for poor children, but, as Griffith notes, it accomplished little of permanent importance.

<sup>10</sup> The money was raised by lottery. Baltimore never established a House of Industry. *Baltimore American*, 1815-1823.

Nor were the temporary committees of the city more successful. As was to be expected, they overlooked the door of affliction often, but were oftener deceived from their inexperience; and these circumstances combined, induced another change in 1817. This was effected at the instance of the compiler of this work, who, as a member of the Court, discovered that they [the temporary committees] were liable to be imposed upon by pretended paupers unknown to them while there was necessity of providing laws more adequate to the wants of the real poor. [The compiler] obtained a license to increase the number of out-pensioners at discretion, provided the pensions did not exceed \$40 each, on an average. With the restoration of a Board of five Trustees, appointed yearly by the Governor and Council, [they were] clothed with that power and all others in relation to the poor house and its grounds, and expressly exempted from any such fiscal restrictions as were formerly exercised by the Courts.

The maintenance of children at the poor house, where the rudiments of education is procured them from their elders on the establishment, as is generally the case, is no serious burden, though they cannot lighten it by labor. To keep people in a hospital or poor house, who are able and may get employment elsewhere is not contemplated, indoors or out, but, to obtain the full value of that alone which some are able to perform is part of the duty of the Trustees, and the difficulty of finding profitable employment for any in a country whose chief business and best interest are derived from, or dependent upon agriculture must be a source of constant anxiety to them.

There always will be in a populous country a certain number of afflicted poor, who by themselves or by their friends can obtain something more towards their own support than they can at the poor house, and who, by being supplied the deficiency at home, relieve the public from considerable expense and themselves from the pains of separation from the society of those friends and from the still more painful confinement with the afflicted patients of the hospital, but the relief of such did not depend on Trustees who were overruled by Courts, or rather Treasury officers. Accordingly, the Legislature as early as 1799, again modified the system of relieving the poor, by a

partial return to that antecedent to the creation of the poor house law.

The Trustees of the Poor throughout the State were then authorized to pay a pension not exceeding \$30.00 each to not more than 10 persons in one county, "whose peculiar circumstances may render a situation in the Poor House particularly unsuitable,"<sup>11</sup> which number of out-pensioners was extended to 30 persons in this and other counties, and to 40 persons at \$40.00 each, in some, about ten years after. In the meantime, the Legislature was importuned for special acts of relief, and this and some other counties were compelled by law to provide for almost as many more out-pensioners.<sup>12</sup>

As was the case in 1817, with the same views and that of a just distribution of the charges between the County and City, other legislative provisions in aid of the Trustees were procured during the session of Assembly of 1818. The Mayor and City Council were authorized to appoint annually and have appointed, one Manager of the Poor for each of the 12 wards, and the Levy Court one Manager of the Poor for each of 7 districts of the county who have power to send to the poor house such objects as are sick, disabled, insane, or infants, and in indigent circumstances within their wards or districts, and who are entitled to public relief by law, of whose expense Trustees are directed to keep separate accounts and to be provided for hereafter from their estimates by the city and county respectively.<sup>13</sup> By shutting one street through the poor house grounds, and opening others provided for by another law of the same session, about two acres of former garden grounds is recovered back for the use of the poor, making in all, the present quantity of about 15 acres, in courts, gardens, and pasture grounds.

Whatever may be thought to the contrary, those who have had an opportunity to compare the number of poor sustained at other such public institutions even on this continent, with that exhibited in our returns, might conclude, notwithstanding those local advantages which make subsistence low and labor high, either that we are wonderfully exempt from human

<sup>11</sup> *Laws of Maryland, 1799*, Chap. 65; *1809*, Chap. 84.

<sup>12</sup> Such pensions were voted individual by individual by the State Legislature.

<sup>13</sup> *Laws of Maryland, 1818*, Chap. 122.

infirmities, or shamefully deficient in feelings of humanity if they were not apprized of our private and perhaps excessively liberal charities.

Justice to the public required that we should notice these, while by doing so, we explained the object of new legislative provisions; and it remains for our fellow citizens to determine whether it is better to extend to a greater number of the relief allowed by law, or continue exposed, as they have been, to importunity if not to reproach.

Mere indigence has never been a sufficient title to [the] almshouse, and they [almshouses] are charitable hospitals which are erected for the afflicted rather than alms or poor houses. That provision of some kind must be made for the sons and daughters of affliction is evident, not only because it is commended by heaven and imposed on our feelings by nature, but because the title to superior wealth, when most legally acquired, might be shaken, if a state of suffering was permitted to arise, which by accumulation, in numbers or degree, might render doubtful the disadvantages of the savage state or the benefits of civilization.

In such a state of society as this, the only difference of opinion which can be tolerated among enlightened men relate merely to the manner of relief. That the one adopted here is susceptible of much improvement, its best friends will certainly admit; but it may be said with great truth perhaps, that the almshouse is an asylum for distress which has been raised and maintained on principles of the broadest liberality: that is, by the united contributions of the whole society—merchant, farmer and artisan—and, since the Revolution at least, according to their property or fortunes, making everyone a joint and separate benefactor; and by the equal admission or relief of the poor inhabitants, sick or afflicted, of every sect, age, or color, interesting all in its immediate welfare and future existence.

It does not depend on the casual charity of individuals, or the uncertain donations of the Government, which by reducing the means, when they are most wanted, may turn the afflicted out of doors. Nor can it contribute to weaken the administration of any benevolent institution by selecting any particular persons exclusively for its own management; while citizens of

every sect and denomination indiscriminately are conscientiously bound to serve it with their best zeal and intelligence, when called to the trust and management by public confidence, and may always find, in performance of the duties, opportunities to protect and solace some fellow creature who resembles them in age or sect, if not in in sex and color, health and condition.

The alms and work house was erected near the center of the original grounds and is still near that of the triangle formed by Biddle, Garden [Linden], Howard, and Madison Streets. It is built of brick except the basement which is of stone. It fronts southeast 167 feet. The mansion, or center building, is 44 feet square elevated three stories above the basement. In the basement are the kitchen and storerooms. The first floor is divided into four equal rooms occupied by the Overseer and Trustees' offices; the second, same division, occupied by the doctor, matron, nurses, etc. The third is in two hospital rooms for females. There are two wings of equal elevation, 60 by 36 feet each two stories high, divided into halls and wards; the eastern appropriated for females and the west for males. Except four cells in the west end, the basement is appropriated for people of color, and the sexes divided as above.

The outhouses consist of a bake house, dairy, work house, smoke house, and stable built of brick, and also a house lately erected in which the corpses are deposited until interment. The barn, bath house, porters lodge, carpentry shop, and privies are of wood. The grounds in front are cultivated as garden, the rear is in two courts, appropriated to the use of each sex and planted with elms and other trees.

The Trustees, whose powers are not restricted by the act of last session relative to district and ward managers and are appointed annually by the Governor and Council, caused their regulations to be printed in pamphlet form. By these it may be seen they have appointed a president, treasurer, and secretary of their own number; assemble regularly the first Monday each month, and as much oftener as they shall find necessary, for which the law allows them a per diem of \$2 each; that the officers in their employ consist of an overseer, purveyor, physician, matron, steward, and porter, besides an agent to

collect rents and visit the pensioners and apprentices, with rules for their government.

To aid the physician of the house the Trustees have procured the gratuitous services of the physicians and surgeons professors at the University [of Maryland School of Medicine]<sup>14</sup> And the students who attend the lectures, which the professors may deliver at the house, are made to contribute a small annual premium towards founding a library for the institution, which is already commenced.

The general diet of the house consists of coffee and rye mixed, and sweetened with molasses for breakfast; [2 illegible words] tea sweetened with brown sugar for supper; fresh meat soup four days, salt meat two days and fish one day of the week, with vegetables, for dinner. Cows are kept sufficient to supply milk, bread of middlings and corn meal, or rye flour is baked every other day, and the quantities discretionary with the occasion. The sick are allowed wine, beer or whiskey, and other articles of diet, when prescribed by the physician only.

The estimate of the expenses for the present year, 1819, including the out-pensioners, and deficits amounted to \$21,000, and deducting \$3,000 estimated receipts of rentals the sum of \$18,000 was levied on the city and county.

The average of the monthly returns of the poor and vagrants last year:

[Number of paupers]	253
Number of pensioners paid	91

General average is 344 which at \$21,000 for the whole is \$61 expense of each per annum.

The late law requiring a division of the expenses according to the numbers of city and county poor respectively, it is supposed the proportion of the levy for the ensuing year will be as 1 to 4, that is  $\frac{1}{5}$  for the county and  $\frac{4}{5}$  for the city or about [blank in document] cents per \$100 on the assessable property of the county and [blank in document] cents per city property, as now assessed. Estimates for the present year, in which the expenses of the city and county poor are levied on each, separately, there is an increase of the number and expense:

<sup>14</sup> The University of Maryland School of Medicine was founded in 1807; the University of Maryland Hospital, first called the Baltimore Infirmary, in 1823.

For the County	
31 paupers 24 pensioners	55
For the City	
263 paupers 68 pensioners	331
Total	<u>386</u>
For whom the County levies	\$ 3,000
City	<u>18,000</u>
	\$ 21,000

Being an addition of \$3,000 to the levy of last year, partly to defray the expenses of the additional number of poor, and partly to supply a greater deficiency in the receipts from the ground rents anticipated by the Trustees.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> There is a discrepancy in Griffith's figures. At \$61 per annum, the estimated cost for the year 1820 for 386 paupers and dependents would be \$23,546 instead of \$21,000.



# THE BALTIMORE JEFFERSONIANS, 1788-1800: A PROFILE OF INTRA-FACTIONAL CONFLICT

By WILLIAM BRUCE WHEELER

**I**N an astonishing letter to Dr. Benjamin Rush, written in the midst of the crucial presidential canvass of 1800, Thomas Jefferson proclaimed that

When great evils happen, I am in the habit of looking out for what good may arise from them as consolations to us, and Providence has in fact so established the order of things, as that most evils are means of producing some good. The yellow fever will discourage the growth of great cities in our nation, & I view great cities as pestilential to the morals, the health and the liberties of man. True, they nourish some of the elegant arts, but the useful ones can thrive elsewhere, and less perfection in the others, with more health, virtue & freedom, would be my choice.<sup>1</sup>

It is perhaps ironic that at the same time Jefferson was penning his oft-expressed and always-felt suspicion and fear of the rise of American urban centers, those same mushrooming seaports were overwhelmingly supporting him in his drive for the presidency, a drive in which those cities played a decisive role.

Baltimore was no exception. Indeed, the boom town on the Patapsco displayed an almost universal support for Jeffersonian Republicanism that pervaded all classes, occupations, interests and neighborhoods throughout the sprawling port. From the outside Baltimore appeared to be an unconquerable bastion of united Republican strength which could only have a profound effect on the state and national political battles.

Yet, behind this curtain of consensus, Baltimore was a seething cauldron of deep intraparty conflict, conflict which threatened to turn the prosperous port into an interfactional battleground and split the Jeffersonian coalition on the very

<sup>1</sup> Jefferson to Rush, September 23, 1800, in Paul Leicester Ford, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (7 vols.: New York 1892-1899), VII, pp. 458-459. For Rush's reply (which was totally in agreement) see Rush to Jefferson, October 6, 1800, in L. A. Butterfield, ed., *Letters of Benjamin Rush* (2 vols.: Princeton, 1951), II, pp. 825-826, 827n.

eve of victory. Though the outsider visiting the city during the 1790's saw only partisan unity among Baltimoreans, new divisive forces were appearing which would shake the oft-claimed political harmony.

Baltimore's superficial political unity stemmed largely from its position as a brash new arrival to a region that already had developed a way of life dominated by the mature and cultivated aristocracy of Maryland, an aristocracy characterized by planter and planter-lawyer patricians. The great families of Carroll, Tilghman, Lloyd and others heretofore had enjoyed almost undisputed control of the province and state through the state legislature. The 1780's and 1790's were anxious times for many of these Potomac and Eastern Shore aristocrats. As Baltimore town swelled and prospered, many southern and Eastern Shore counties showed signs of stagnation, decay and, in some cases, depopulation. Thus, two separate, distinct and potentially antagonistic societies faced each other in Maryland after the Revolution.<sup>2</sup>

Though Baltimore, Potomac and Eastern Shore regions of the state all supported the proposed federal Constitution in 1788, continued unity in Maryland on the basis of Federalism was impossible. The 1788 pro-ratification *entente* had been an unnatural alliance of conflicting interest groups, each of which had supported ratification for entirely different reasons. Potomac and Eastern Shore planters saw in the adoption of the new Constitution a definite end to the paper money controversy, a diminution of the vast power which Virginia had enjoyed in the weak Confederation, and a more solid central government presided over by the fittest individuals in the nation. In contrast, Baltimore and the Chesapeake area believed the stronger central government would be a boon to trade and manufacturers and lead the Republic out of its economic doldrums. With the enemy of Antifederalism

<sup>2</sup> On the truly impressive growth of Baltimore see William Hindman to James McHenry, June 1, 1799, in Bernard C. Steiner, ed., "Maryland Politics in 1799—McHenry Letters," *Publications of the Southern Historical Association*, X (May, 1906), 17; Ferdinand-Marie Bayard, *Travels of a Frenchman in Maryland and Virginia with a Description of Philadelphia and Baltimore in 1791, or Travels in the Interior of the United States, to Bath, Winchester, in the Valley of the Shenandoah, etc., etc., During the Summer of 1791*, Ben C. McCrary, ed. (Williamsburg, 1950), p. 160; Mederic-Louis-Elie Moreau de St. Mery, *Moreau de St. Mery's American Journey*, translated and edited by Kenneth Roberts and Anna M. Roberts (Garden City, 1947), p. 76.



Baltimore from the Northwest, ca. 1800. Watercolor, unattributed.  
*Maryland Historical Society*

rapidly disintegrating after 1788 the dominant Federalists began to drift into more natural alliances, those of the dynamic Chesapeake region *versus* the mature and static Potomac and Eastern Shore areas.<sup>3</sup>

The first ostensible signs of the new factional alignments in Maryland were the attempts by Baltimore to secure approval of the city as the site for the permanent national capital and the subsequent congressional election of 1790.

Baltimore was but one of many towns vying for the wealth and prestige that the nation's permanent capital would possess. Although the city on the Patapsco never really stood much of a chance of congressional approval, Baltimore and Chesapeake area congressmen actively sought support in the nation's legis-

<sup>3</sup> Wilhelmus Bogart Bryan, *A History of the National Capital, from Its Foundation through the Period of the Adoption of the Organic Act* (2 vols.: New York, 1941), I, pp. 1-36; John Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore; Being a Complete History of "Baltimore Town" and Baltimore City from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 260.

lative halls for their city. In Baltimore itself over £20,000 was subscribed in two weeks by merchants hopeful of convincing Congress of the city's good intentions. It was argued that the seaport had served adequately as the capital briefly in 1776 when Philadelphia had been taken and occupied by the British.<sup>4</sup>

More important, if Baltimore could not become the permanent capital, it did not want either Philadelphia or a site on the Potomac to be chosen. Merchants and politicians of the Chesapeake region feared the establishment and growth of any city—especially one on the Potomac—that would challenge Baltimore as a commercial center and break its virtual monopoly of western trade.

For these reasons the citizens of Baltimore and the surrounding Chesapeake area were greatly dismayed at the linking together and subsequent approval of the assumption clause and the Potomac site. The Baltimoreans reserved special anger for Maryland's Potomac congressmen who had never really given the Baltimore proposal their full attention or energy. Indeed, so vengeful were many Baltimoreans they were determined to forge an alignment of Chesapeake forces to wage a political battle that would sweep their enemies from office.

Of course the conflict between the emerging Chesapeake and established Potomac factions ran much deeper than just a political vendetta based on the loss of the national capital. The capital issue merely brought to the surface the conflict of interests, ideas and ways of life between two distinct societies in the state. Basically the conflict was between a frustrated, young, emerging society that contained over half of Maryland's qualified voters and was seeking to assert itself in state and national politics and a ripe, settled society that was trying to retain political control of the state in the face of a new and threatening opposition. Former differences over paper money and ratification were quickly laid aside as citizens of the Free State began to adjust themselves to the realignment.

The open clash came in the congressional election of 1790. Since Maryland elected all its congressmen at large, it was

<sup>4</sup> A fine discussion of the deterioration of Federalist consensus in Maryland is Dorothy M. Brown's "Maryland and the Federalist Search for Unity," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LXIII (December 1968), 1-21.

possible for enraged Baltimoreans to vote for six congressmen. Realizing the damage they could do to Potomac and Eastern Shore political hegemony, Baltimore merchants led the way in drafting a Chesapeake Ticket of congressional candidates and urging city dwellers to vote for them in a bloc.

The results signified a smashing victory for the Chesapeake forces and a severe drubbing for the conservative rural-based oligarchy. In Baltimore the voters were almost unanimous in support of their region in the feud:

Chesapeake Ticket	Votes	Potomac Ticket	Votes <sup>5</sup>
Philip Barton Key	3045	Michael Stone	2
Joshua Seney	3046	James Tilghman	2
William Pinkney	3045	Benjamin Contee	1
Samuel Sterrett	3048	George Gale	1
William Vans Murray	3047	Samuel Sterrett	?
Upton Sheredine	3042	Daniel Carroll	6

Baltimore leaders must have been overanxious for the city to make the weight of its voting population felt in the state, for the number of votes cast was 99 per cent of the city's qualified voters. Although it was reported that balloting in Baltimore had been unusually heavy, such a turnout of qualified voters is preposterous given earlier and later voting figures. Very likely Baltimore leaders of the Chesapeake faction rounded up hordes of unqualified voters and sent them *en masse* to the polls. This had been common practice in the city in the past and there is no reason to believe it was not employed in the emotion-charged balloting of 1790.<sup>6</sup>

Even so, the victory for the Chesapeake Ticket was an impressive one. The entire slate had been elected. Moreover, it was not inconceivable that Baltimore and the three populous Chesapeake counties (Baltimore, Anne Arundel and Harford) would use their numerical advantage to make further political inroads in the state. The old rulers of Maryland viewed the situation with increasing alarm.

To blunt the rising power of Baltimore in state politics, the ruling Potomac faction conceived a scheme to keep control of

<sup>5</sup> *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Oct. 28, 1790.

<sup>6</sup> Of the roughly 3077 qualified voters in Baltimore in 1790 it was purported that 3048 (or 99 per cent) had voted. Even the presidential elections of 1796 and 1800 only drew 19 and 40 per cent respectively of the qualified voters.

the state government and most of Maryland's federal offices in its own hands while at the same time cutting off Baltimore and the Cheapeake region from any power outside their own area. This was an act passed by the conservative-dominated state legislature on December 19, 1790, which changed the method of electing federal congressmen from statewide general tickets to district voting. This meant that the tremendous number of voters in Baltimore could elect only one congressman. Anne Arundel and Harford counties were put in districts with overwhelming conservative majorities. In this way the traditional ruling oligarchy of Maryland hoped to seal off the power of the Chesapeake faction.<sup>7</sup>

Superficially the Potomac leaders were successful in undercutting the nascent Chesapeake rebellion that threatened their control of the state. However, since the clash of 1790 ran deeper than issues and offices, the geographical alignment of dynamic Chesapeake *versus* stagnant Potomac and Eastern Shore remained virtually intact long after the bitter clash of 1790. Because Baltimore merchants had taken the lead in the attempted revolt and continued to dominate the Chesapeake area, the conflict occasionally took the form of rural-urban hostility or, better, a rural-centered *versus* urban-centered polarization.

As the national political issues and nascent political parties began to intrude into the regions of Maryland, it was almost natural that the state's conflicting societies would find themselves once again in opposing camps. Angered at Eastern Shore and Potomac uncompromising espousal of Federalism and disgusted by what appeared to be Federalist fawning to the British lion, Baltimore moved almost to a man into the ranks of political opposition and in doing so provided the key nucleus for Republican organization in Maryland.

Hence the deep cleavage which had divided Maryland since the Revolution continued to express itself in the form and vocabulary of the national political arena. Moreover, Baltimore itself continued to remain virtually impregnable to outside political assault throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century. In the 1800 selection of presidential

<sup>7</sup> Maryland, *Laws of Maryland, 1790*, chapter XVI.

electors, Baltimore voters gave Jeffersonian Gabriel Duval 1497 ballots of 1936 cast.<sup>8</sup>

And yet, unity against outside forces obscured deep divisions within the Baltimore Jeffersonian coalition. In fact, the citizens of the thriving seaport only displayed their political unity when facing outside antagonists, most especially the rural-based Potomac oligarchy or the national Federalist administration. When outside enemies were not openly threatening, the city was rent with controversy. These intraparty chasms presented an interesting and significant counterforce in the mushrooming seaport and go a long way toward dispelling any myth of Jeffersonian consensus during its years in opposition.

A broad overview of Baltimore's political polarization shows that the basic conflict was between the well-to-do merchant aristocracy that was attempting to solidify and institutionalize its local and regional hegemony and groups that believed they saw the unhealthy and threatening spectre of economic, social and political exclusiveness in the actions of the port's commercial nabobs. The older seaports of the Republic (notably Philadelphia, New York and Boston) had earlier fought—and in the closing years of the eighteenth century continued to fight—a growing exclusiveness and unresponsiveness of its leadership classes and Baltimore, despite the fact that its elite was principally a post-Revolutionary creation, was no exception.

Because Baltimore's merchant aristocracy lived largely near the wharves which stretched into the Basin (in what in 1797 became wards 3 and 4), the intracity conflict tended to take on the character of a neighborhood *versus* neighborhood polarization. This can be seen in the sharp battles between the center of the city and the outlying or fringe areas which were populated principally by millers and manufacturers, shopkeepers, inn and tavernkeepers, artisans, sailors and laborers, many of whom were renters. While it would be unfair and inaccurate to describe Baltimore's internal eruptions simply

<sup>8</sup> *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 11, 1800. J. R. Heller ("Democracy in Maryland, 1790-1810," unpublished senior thesis, Princeton University, 1959) gives the total vote cast as 1935, while Dorothy Marie Brown ("Party Battles and Beginnings in Maryland: 1786-1812," unpublished PhD dissertation, Georgetown University, 1962) says the total was 1855. The figure of 40 per cent turnout of qualified voters is computed from Heller's figure.

in class *versus* class terms, there was unquestionably an element of this running through the seaport's political conflicts.<sup>9</sup>

Most illustrative of Baltimore's intraparty conflict was the running battle Baltimoreans waged among themselves over the proposed incorporation of the town. Throughout the early 1790's the Maryland legislature had governed the town through its appointed commissioners. The majority of the seaport's substantial citizens, wanting a freer rein in local affairs and the opportunity to perpetuate their hegemony and to extend Baltimore rule to neighboring Fell's Point, began in 1793 to push for a charter of incorporation which would achieve their goals. Abruptly howls of opposition were raised, the loudest being those from Fell's Point. There the inhabitants feared that the Point's annexation would force them to pay ruinous taxes for a projected deepening of the Basin, an often discussed and favorite scheme of the merchants on the Basin but definitely not to the interest of Fell's Point which, being in deep water, profited from the Basin's shallowness.<sup>10</sup> Not only did the Mechanics' and Carpenters' Societies support the Point, but the artisan and shopkeeper majority in the Republican Society briefly rebelled against the merchant leadership and approved anti-incorporation resolutions. The state legislature quietly abandoned the issue.<sup>11</sup>

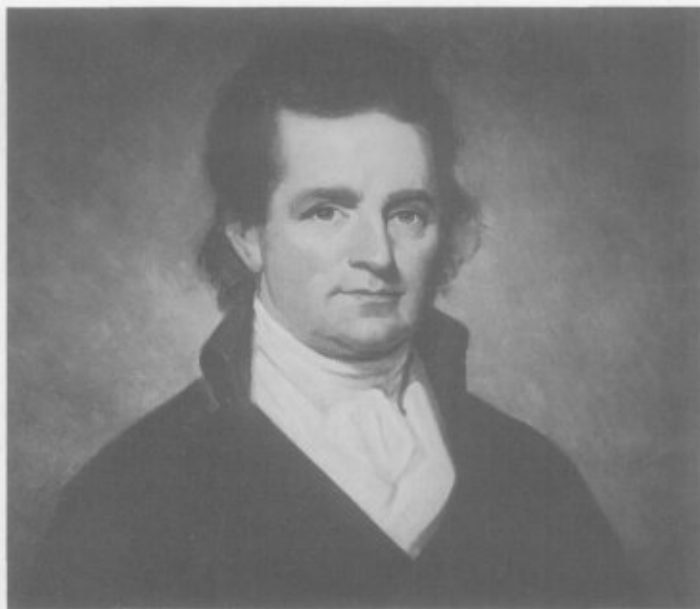
However, the merchant elite of the town was not defeated so easily. In 1795 a town meeting was held at the Exchange and a charter of incorporation was drafted and delivered to James Winchester, in 1795 one of Baltimore's assemblymen in the state legislature. Through confusion or outright duplicity, another charter was substituted for the one drawn up and approved by the gathering at the Exchange and was signed by

<sup>9</sup> For statistics on renters see Federal Assessment of 1798. Baltimore City Tax List, 1798-1800. On microfilm in the Maryland Historical Society. Actually 49.57 per cent of the renters in Baltimore in 1799 lived in Fell's Point.

<sup>10</sup> The Basin had an irritating way of silting up every spring, leaving the depth of water at between five and nine feet. Large ships were forced to dock at Fell's Point. See Thomas Twining, *Travels in America 100 Years Ago, Being Notes and Reminiscences by Thomas Twining* (New York, 1893), p. 82. See also St. Mery, *American Journey*, p. 78; Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 289.

<sup>11</sup> For opposition meetings and resolutions see *Baltimore Daily Intelligencer*, Jan. 11, Oct. 6, Nov. 13, 1794. See also Archibald Hawkins, *The Life and Times of Hon. Elijah Stansbury, An "Old Defender" and Ex-Mayor of Baltimore; Together with Early Reminiscences, Dating from 1662, and Embracing a Period of 212 Years* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 249; Anne Leaken Sioussat, *Old Baltimore* (New York, 1931), p. 137.





Philip Barton Key, 1757-1815. By D. Clinton Peters after the original by Bouché, ca. 1798. *Maryland Historical Society*

such an impressive array of the town's elite that Winchester felt obliged to introduce the substituted charter in the state legislature. The second draft made high property qualifications a requirement for city office, devised a system of local rule which could make the mayor and the upper branch of the city council appointive and continued the long-criticized method of *vive voce* voting.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> For the controversial substitution of charter drafts see *Baltimore American*, Jan. 30, 1808. The qualifications for city office proposed in the charter were:

1. *First Branch of City Council*

- a. 21 years of age, citizen of U.S., 3 years resident of Baltimore, and "rated on the assessor's books at one thousand dollars."
- b. Elected annually *vive voce* by the same electorate that is qualified to vote for the Maryland General Assembly.

2. *Second Branch of City Council*

- a. 25 years of age, citizen of U.S., 4 years resident of Baltimore, and "rated on the assessor's books at two thousand dollars."
- b. Chosen semi-annually by the First Branch.

3. *Mayor of Baltimore*

- a. 25 years of age, 10 years a citizen of U.S., 5 years resident of Baltimore.
- b. Chosen semi-annually by the First Branch of the City Council.

Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 291.

The uproar created in Baltimore by the foes of incorporation could be heard nearly to Annapolis. The opposition arguments make it quite clear that they believed the struggle to be between the rich merchants of the town and the "poor and middling class." High property qualifications for holding office were attacked because "wealth ought not to be made a qualification for office." Similarly, *vive voce* voting was opposed as impeding the freedom of elections and laying "the poor and middling class too open to influence from the rich and great."<sup>13</sup>

Chief targets of the anti-incorporation forces were Winchester and David McMechen, the state assemblymen from Baltimore who had introduced the despised charter. Efforts were made to oust them by running anti-incorporation candidates in the annual assembly elections of October 1795. Although this attempt was unsuccessful, Robert Steuart, a popular stonecutter and Republican leader, garnered 263 votes. This next session of the Maryland legislature approved the charter of incorporation.

During the incorporation fight national party alignments broke down. Robert Smith and David McMechen, both strong Republicans, favored incorporation; yet Adam Fonerden and Robert Steuart, equally ardent Republicans, opposed it. Side by side with Smith and McMechen were James McHenry and Winchester, one a long-time Federalist and the other on the brink of conversion to that political persuasion. Clearly, when national issues were not at stake or the city was not being threatened by its Potomac antagonist, Baltimore politics diffused into class, occupation and neighborhood factions. Manufacturers and mechanics were leery of the swelling power and influence of the seaport's merchant elite. Fell's Point distrusted the motives of those who lived and worked near the Basin. Yet these often antagonistic groups would still respond to outside stimuli by re-fusing into an impregnable bastion of Republicanism.

There is no doubt that the merchant oligarchy used the new city charter to fasten its hold on the burgeoning seaport. Early in 1797 Baltimore was divided into eight wards from which

<sup>13</sup> *Maryland Journal*, Sept. 12, 1795.

city councilmen would be elected. The ward divisions obviously were adjusted to the benefit of the merchant elite who lived and traded on the Basin.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, the results of the city council elections were more favorable than the prominent merchants' most fervent hopes, for nine-tenths of those elected were merchants and gentlemen of the upper class. In turn they selected one of their most distinguished peers, James Calhoun, as the city's first mayor. Calhoun was an opulent merchant, president of the Chesapeake Insurance Company, elder of the First Presbyterian Church, connected with the Ancient and Honorable Mechanical Company and son-in-law of William Gist. No charter would be administered by more friendly hands.<sup>15</sup>

The incorporation struggle was not the only one in which national party divisions appeared to count for little and factional differences came to the fore. The conflict over proposed suffrage reform in the late 1790's presents a similar case in which Baltimore's vaunted political consensus did not go very deeply.

The framers of the Maryland Constitution of 1776 believed strongly that voters should be only those who had a "stake in society." To cast a ballot in Maryland a man had to be over twenty-one years old, a resident of the county in which he voted for over one year, and possess a freehold of at least fifty acres in that county or property of more than £30 value. Except when contested, a voter's oath that he held the requisite property was accepted.<sup>16</sup>

In Baltimore it is certain that many more people voted in elections than were legally qualified. Both the depreciation of state paper and the presence of partisan election judges were influential in enlarging the city's electorate. Moreover, flagrant cheating, bribery and herding of unqualified voters to the polls were common practices in Baltimore in the 1790's. Hence, the number of only those technically qualified to vote does not re-

<sup>14</sup> See map.

<sup>15</sup> For the names of those elected to the City Council see Hawkins, *Elijah Stansbury*, pp. 213-214. For information on Calhoun see Wilbur F. Coyle, *The Mayors of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1919), pp. 13-14.

<sup>16</sup> Bernard C. Steiner, *Citizenship and Suffrage in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1895), p. 27. It was stipulated that £30 property meant current money.

flect the real extent to which citizens of the port could cast ballots.<sup>17</sup>

Nevertheless, disgruntled elements in Maryland began to push for a widening of the suffrage. In December 1797, Michael Taney introduced a proposal for universal manhood suffrage in the state. National party allegiances dissolved completely in the debate and voting on this measure. Taney was a Federalist, yet most Federalists opposed an expansion of the electorate. On the other hand, Robert Smith, Baltimore merchant and Republican leader, stood with Federalists in opposing the bill. In this move Smith mirrored the merchant aristocracy of his city, since that group was at this time taking steps to *limit* suffrage in Baltimore by strictly enforcing age and property qualifications. The Taney bill died in the Federalist-dominated state senate. In 1798 and again in 1799 bills to widen the electorate were introduced into the state legislature, one by a Republican and the other by a trio of Federalists. Both were rejected.<sup>18</sup>

Again national party affiliations had proved flimsy when national or sectional issues were not at stake. In Baltimore the same faction that had consolidated its grasp of city politics by the incorporation charter joined forces with other conservative elements in Maryland to head off a move for suffrage extension. This faction was in turn opposed by the same groups that had fought against the town's incorporation.

One might have expected that such deep intraparty division would have caused an erosion or smashing of the Baltimore Jeffersonian coalition even before the man from Monticello reached the presidency. Yet such was understandably not the case. Indeed, several factors prevented the deterioration of this obviously flimsy and predictably impermanent political union. Hence, though there were strong centrifugal forces in Baltimore Jeffersonianism, there were—at least until 1801—equally strong countertendencies which postponed the rupture.

To begin with, neither internal faction could have accepted Federalism as an attractive alternative. Ironically, the period

<sup>17</sup> See the Baltimore election statistics for the congressional election of 1790 earlier in this article.

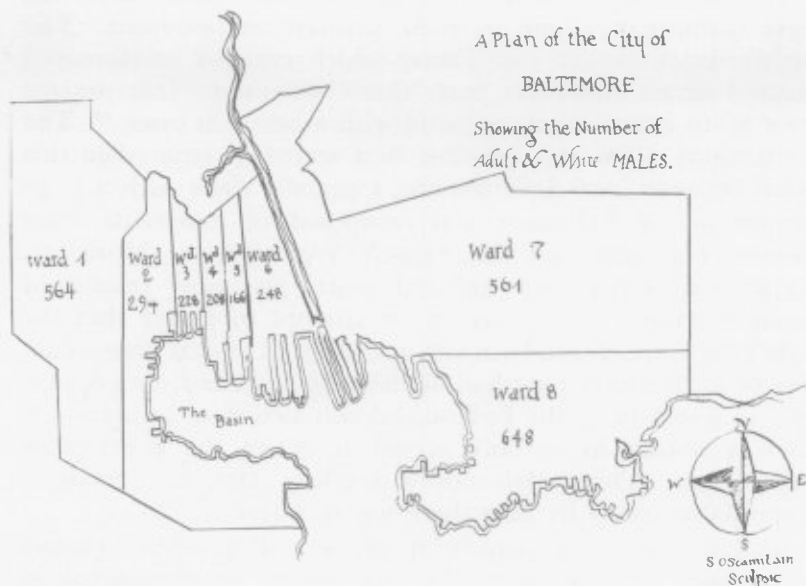
<sup>18</sup> A fair account is Chilton Williamson's *American Suffrage, from Property to Democracy, 1760-1860* (Princeton, 1960), pp. 138-145. For the stand of the Baltimore merchants see *Baltimore Telegraph and Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 7, 1797.

when an intraparty split would have most likely occurred (1795-1800) was the time when national and state Federalists were committing some of their greatest indiscretions. The highly unsatisfactory Jay Treaty which enraged or dismayed citizens in all American ports threw Baltimore Jeffersonians once again into a common battle with a common cause.<sup>19</sup> The overzealous Alien and Sedition Acts served to strengthen this bond between local Jeffersonians, especially since such a large proportion of Baltimore was composed of emigrants from France, Germany and the French West Indies. Moreover, Republican unity over national issues was only reinforced when Maryland Federalists, in an attempt to insure that the state's 1800 presidential electors would be all of that persuasion, sought to change the method of choosing electors from popular vote to selection by the Federalist-dominated state legislature.<sup>20</sup> Such a brazen move only served to unite the enemies of Federalism. Thus, Baltimore's feuding factions remained Republican partly because there was nowhere else to go.

Secondly, the vast popularity of some Republican leaders throughout all sections of the city cannot be discounted in explaining Baltimore's persistent though tenuous political unity. Especially popular was General Samuel Smith, wealthy merchant prince and acknowledged leader of the seaport's Republicans, who successfully cultivated the middle and lower class artisans and laborers of the growing community. Much of Smith's power came through his appeal to the several militia units in the city, support that, despite his political meanderings, never deserted him in the Federalist era. Although Federalists often accused him of using the common man as a pawn in his devious and selfish plans, few heeded these bitter and jealous attacks and his public addresses and debates were always well attended by his noisily partisan supporters. Indeed, Smith loved the applause and cheers of a crowd and in 1800

<sup>19</sup> For anti-Jay Treaty activity in Baltimore see *Federal Intelligencer*, July 24, 27, 1795; Brown, "Party Battles in Maryland," p. 142. It should be pointed out that federal congressman and Baltimore Republican leader Samuel Smith voted for the Jay Treaty appropriation but did so only after his constituents held the firm impression that he was doing so against his will.

<sup>20</sup> Edward G. Roddy, "Maryland and the Presidential Election of 1800," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVI (September, 1961), pp. 244-268; Frank A. Cassell, "General Samuel Smith and the Election of 1800," *ibid.*, LXI (December, 1968), pp. 341-359.



Map by the author.

bragged to his brother-in-law that "I am becoming a political preacher. I gained a complete victory over Judge Chase Yesterday in grand debate."<sup>21</sup>

Perhaps as important as Smith's popularity in keeping the Baltimore Republicans together was the fact that a number of Smith's key lieutenants in the faction's hierarchy were popular men from outside the merchant class. Most significant was Edward Johnson who was well thought of by manufacturing and artisan elements of the port. A native Baltimorean and son of one of the city's few physicians, Johnson owned and operated a brewery in Old Town, one of the working class districts in the city. Although a well-to-do manufacturer, he

<sup>21</sup> For Smith's account of his three week political journey see Samuel Smith to Wilson Cary Nicholas (his brother-in-law), August 4, 1800, in Samuel Smith Papers, University of Virginia. For Federalist attacks on Smith see "HISTORIOGRAPHUS" in *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 25, 1800; *Federal Gazette*, Oct. 1, 1800. For Smith's wide popularity with militia units see *Federal Gazette*, Aug. 7, 1798, and Oct. 5, 1798. For Republican strength in the militia regiments see *Baltimore American*, May 3, 1800.

lived near his brewery, was close to the mechanics and laborers of Old Town and Fell's Point and, when necessary, could deliver their votes at the polls. His tremendous power in the town's two most populous neighborhoods caused Baltimore's merchant Republicans to ignore him at their peril.

Other mechanics and manufacturers besides Johnson who held positions of leadership in the city's Republican coalition were Robert Steuart (stonecutter), Adam Fonerden (wool and cotton manufacturer and president of the Mechanical Society) and Cumberland Dugan (ropemaker and tanner).

Hence political leadership drawn from merchant, manufacturing and mechanic groups was another factor which acted as a counterforce to the intraparty divisive tendencies. Though it would be wrong to suggest that Jeffersonian leadership in Baltimore was actually drawn from the ranks of the common man, the representation of different interest, occupational and neighborhood forces was important in postponing party disintegration in the city while at the same time offering to the people the implied promise of democratizing impulses yet to be set in motion.<sup>22</sup>

In assessing the reasons for the almost artificial unity that existed in Baltimore Jeffersonianism toward the end of the eighteenth century, one cannot emphasize enough the continued coalescence of urban elements due to threats from outside the city, especially from Potomac Maryland. Only after the collapse of this Potomac and Eastern Shore power and pressure (and its support from the national capital) could Baltimoreans slip into more natural and more comfortable political and ideological clothing. After 1801, when Federalist opposition diminished, factional animosities in Baltimore came quickly to the surface and the city was the scene of bitter political battles between former allies.

<sup>22</sup> Smith's lieutenants were not just simple mechanics:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Assessed Property in 1798</i>
Robert Steuart	stonecutter	\$ 3875
Joseph Biays	shipjoiner	10420
Cumberland Dugan	ropemaker	23200
Edward Johnson	brewer	2088
Adam Fonerden	wool & cotton manufacturer	5800

Direct Tax Assessment, Baltimore, October 1798. On microfilm in Md. Hist. Soc.

Thus, Jeffersonian Republican consensus in the boom town on the Patapsco obscured the painful and unattended scars within the party itself, scars which tell the historian as much—and more—about the era as does the brittle political unity within the port. Only by recognizing both strains—the coagulative and the centrifugal—can one appreciate and evaluate the complex cross-currents of social and political forces in the Federalist Era, an era which was brought to end partly by the significant though internally restive urban support of an anti-urban Virginia planter.



# ANNAPOLIS AND THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS: A NOTE ON THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM IN REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA\*

By DAVID AMMERMAN

MOST Americans had expected Great Britain to retaliate against Boston for the Tea Party of December 1773 but few were prepared for so drastic a punishment as that inflicted by Parliament's enactment of the Boston Port Bill. The decision to blockade New England's principal port caused a wave of indignation throughout the colonies and set off a series of protest meetings which reached into every province from Florida to Nova Scotia. Although such meetings invariably resolved against the constitutionality of the Port Act and called for its repeal, they came to a variety of conclusions about the best means of opposing its enforcement. Boston, predicting that if "the other Colonies come into a *joint* resolution, to stop all importations from *Great Britain* & exportations to *Great Britain*, & every part of the *West Indies*, till the Act for blocking up this harbour be repealed, the same will prove the salvation of *North America* & her liberties. . . ,"<sup>1</sup> indignantly called for an immediate cessation of American trade with Great Britain. The merchants in Philadelphia and New York, however, tried to parry Boston's demand with a proposal for convening an intercolonial congress. With New England and the Middle Colonies divided on the issue, the attitude of the South took on added significance. Ultimately colonial reaction to the Port Act was to depend on the outcome of an interchange between Annapolis in Maryland and Williamsburg in Virginia.

In the Port Act crisis, as on other occasions, many colonies looked to Virginia for leadership. A committee in Philadelphia wrote in June that "all America look up to Virginia to take the lead on the present occasion. . . . You are ancient. You are

\* The author wishes to thank the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation for a grant which made possible much of the work for this article.

<sup>1</sup> Peter Force, ed., *American Archives*, 4th Ser., I (Washington, 1837), p. 331.

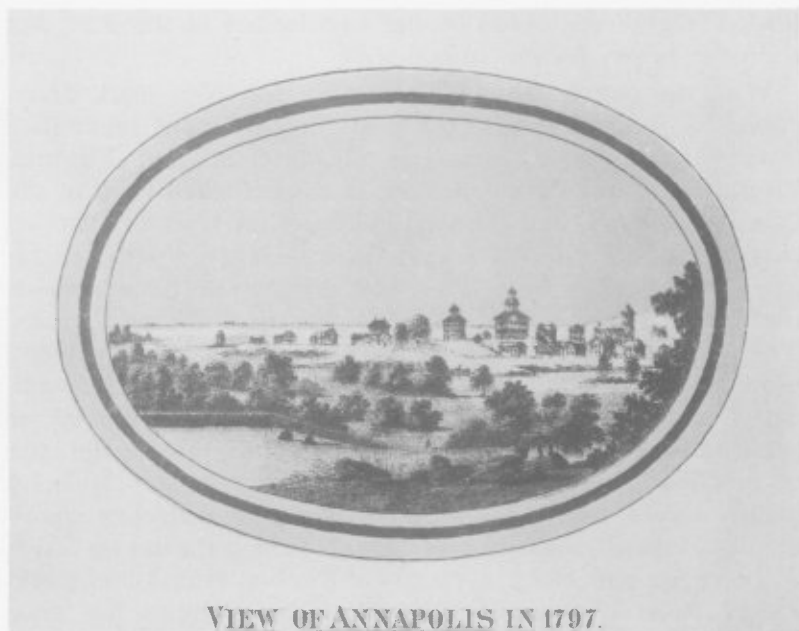
respected. You are animated in the cause."<sup>2</sup> In England, Lord Dartmouth also commented on the "Prevalence of the Example" set by Virginia's House of Burgesses and, in a letter to the colony's governor, Lord Dunmore, expressed alarm "at what may be the Result of the unconstitutional Meeting they are endeavouring to promote."<sup>3</sup> Contemporaries were evidently unaware that Virginia had initially reacted to news of the Port Act with remarkable moderation and had taken more spirited measures only after some gentle prodding by her neighbor directly to the north. Certainly Maryland lacked the political influence enjoyed by Virginia. It was an Annapolis meeting on May 25, however, that succeeded in pressuring the Old Dominion into a public endorsement of nonimportation and nearly managed to commit the entire continent to an immediate embargo of British trade, as Boston had originally suggested. Although the colonists would have adopted nonimportation regardless, the tactics employed by the Annapolis meeting provided considerable insight into the importance of the committee system in the organization of the American Revolution.

The debate over what response the colonists should make to the Port Act began on May 13 when the Boston town meeting dispatched messengers to the several provinces in America and called for an immediate interdiction on trade with the mother country. The Massachusetts leaders made no reference to a continental meeting because they hoped for an immediate trade embargo and feared that an intercolonial congress would cause unnecessary delay. Sam Adams stated that position explicitly when he wrote Silas Deane of Connecticut that he considered a continental meeting essential but thought that the colonists should act first and talk later.<sup>4</sup> Two weeks later, in a letter to Charles Thomson, a radical leader in Philadelphia, Adams reiterated his view that "a Congress is of absolute Necessity in my Opinion, but from the length of time it will

<sup>2</sup> Philadelphia Committee of Correspondence to Virginia Committee of Correspondence, June 1774, J. P. Kennedy, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, XIII (Richmond, 1905), p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> The Earl of Dartmouth to the Earl of Dunmore, Aug. 3, 1774, Colonial Office Group, Class 5, Piece 1352, 134, Public Record Office. Hereafter cited as C.O. 5/1352.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Adams to Silas Deane, May 18, 1774, Harry A. Cushing, ed., *The Writings of Samuel Adams*, III (New York, 1907), p. 115.



VIEW OF ANNAPOLIS IN 1797.

"View of Annapolis in 1797." Lithograph, 1871. *Maryland Historical Society*

take to bring it to pass, I fear it cannot answer for the present Emergency."<sup>5</sup>

Boston could no doubt have mustered support in New England, but the reluctance of Philadelphia and New York slowed the movement for trade restrictions considerably. Meetings in both cities counseled moderation and called for an inter-colonial congress before any decision was made final. Philadelphia even mentioned the possibility of paying for the tea as required by the Port Act.<sup>6</sup> Nathaniel Coffin, a Massachusetts loyalist, reported that the coolness of Philadelphia and New York had noticeably dampened the ardor of the "Party" and that a meeting of Boston merchants had undermined the adoption of trade restrictions there by voting "that those . . . who had signed a non-importation Agreement lately put abt. should be released from their engagement, as the other Colonies would not come into it." At one point Coffin thought that

<sup>5</sup> Samuel Adams to Charles Thomson, May 30, 1774, *ibid.*, pp. 123-124.

<sup>6</sup> Force, *American Archives*, p. 321.

Boston might even abide by the stipulations of the Port Act and offer to pay for the ruined tea.<sup>7</sup>

With the merchants of Philadelphia and New York determined to proceed slowly, the possibility of more immediate action hinged on the response of Maryland and Virginia. Virginia's House of Burgesses was in session when word of the Port Act arrived, and Thomas Jefferson later wrote that he, along with Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, Francis Lightfoot Lee and a few others, had met privately to consult about the proper means of arousing the concern of the community. The Virginia leaders decided upon a method previously employed by the Puritans of New England to promote civic solidarity and prevailed upon Robert Carter Nicholas, "whose grave and religious character was more in unison with the tone of our resolution," to propose a day of fasting.<sup>8</sup> Nicholas readily agreed, and on May 24 the House of Burgesses unanimously adopted a resolution to set aside June 1, the day on which the Port Act took effect, as "a day of Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer, devoutly to implore the divine Interposition for averting the heavy Calamity, which threatens Destruction to our civil Rights, and the Evils of civil War; to give us one Heart and one Mind firmly to oppose, by all just and proper Means, every Injury to *American Rights*. . . ."<sup>9</sup>

The Burgesses would undoubtedly have adopted further, more explicit resolutions, had they not decided to finish the "Country business" before provoking Governor Dunmore into a dissolution of the Assembly. William Carr, though not a member of the House of Burgesses, reported on May 26 that "it is whispered they are determined . . . to Stop the Exportation of Tobacco."<sup>10</sup> Richard Henry Lee later claimed that he had prepared additional resolutions but had delayed presenting them at the request of "many worthy members, who wished to have the public business first finished."<sup>11</sup> Governor Dun-

<sup>7</sup> Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, July 6, 1774, Charles Steuart Papers, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland.

<sup>8</sup> Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, I (Princeton, N.J. 1950), p. 106n.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>10</sup> William Carr to James Russell, May 26, 1774, James Russell Papers, Coutts and Company, London, Eng.

<sup>11</sup> Richard Henry Lee to Samuel Adams, June 23, 1774, Force, *American Archives*, p. 446.

more, like Carr, had heard rumors of the Burgesses' intentions and decided to prevent Lee from carrying out his design. On May 26 he called the members of the Assembly into the Council chamber and, holding a copy of the fast-day resolution in his hand, read the message of dissolution.<sup>12</sup>

Dunmore did not expect that his action would prevent the Assembly members from meeting privately on the Port Act, but he did hope that by depriving the representatives of their official status he could tone down their proposed resolutions.<sup>13</sup> This maneuver apparently worked. Richard Henry Lee reported that when the Speaker, Peyton Randolph, convened the recently dissolved Burgesses in the Apollo Room of the Raleigh Tavern, the men present "made a distinction between their then state, and that when they were members of the House of Burgesses" and refused to adopt his resolutions.<sup>14</sup> Indeed the measures approved by the extralegal meeting on May 28 were so subdued that a committee appointed at Baltimore subsequently chided Virginia for having fallen so "far Short of that Spirit & Zeal by which the Gentlemen of Your Colony have ever been distinguished."<sup>15</sup> Whether because of the dissolution or from a lack of information about the resolutions of Boston, the meeting in the Raleigh Tavern proceeded with great caution. It not only failed to endorse a general non-importation but also rejected Richard Henry Lee's suggestion to issue an explicit invitation for the meeting of a continental congress.<sup>16</sup> Instead the delegates voted to enter a limited association promising not to purchase goods from the East India Company, "except saltpetre and spices." In addition, the burgesses "recommended" to the provincial Committee of Correspondence that they write the several colonies in America on the "expediency" of appointing an annual congress to meet on "those general measures which the united interests of

<sup>12</sup> Kennedy, *Journal of the Burgesses*, p. 132.

<sup>13</sup> The Earl of Dunmore to the Earl of Dartmouth, May 29, 1774, C.O. 5/1352.

<sup>14</sup> Richard Henry Lee to Samuel Adams, June 23, 1774, Force, *American Archives*, p. 446.

<sup>15</sup> Baltimore Committee of Corespondence to the Norfolk and Portsmouth Committee of Correspondence, June 17, 1774, Purviance Papers, MS. 1394, Md. Hist. Soc.

<sup>16</sup> Richard Henry Lee to Samuel Adams, June 23, 1774, Force, *American Archives*, p. 446.

America may from time to time require."<sup>17</sup> Having endorsed these surprisingly moderate resolutions, the meeting adjourned and the burgesses individually began the trip back to their respective counties. There matters would have stood had it not been for the efforts of a few "gentlemen" in Annapolis.

On May 25, the day before Dunmore dissolved the House of Burgesses, an express had arrived in Maryland carrying the resolutions of the Boston town meeting and a letter from the Committee of Correspondence in Philadelphia. These dispatches probably included resolutions from New York as well, for the Philadelphia letter referred to measures adopted in that city. On that same afternoon some of the "Inhabitants" of Annapolis met to consider the proposals from the northern colonies and to appoint a committee for the purpose of corresponding with other parts of the province. How many persons attended this meeting is unrecorded, but the proceedings suggest that the gathering was small and probably select. Within twenty-four hours after the express arrived from Philadelphia, the "Inhabitants" were notified and convened, the resultant gathering drew up resolutions and appointed a committee, and the committee wrote and posted letters to the various counties in Maryland and to the Virginia House of Burgesses. Sam Adams himself would have considered that a full day.

The resolutions adopted in Annapolis went far beyond anything suggested in Philadelphia or New York and were also considerably more spirited than those which would be adopted three days later in Williamsburg. Like their Boston counterparts, the Annapolis residents called for an immediate stop to exportation and importation. They further suggested that such an agreement be incorporated into an association and signed on oath; proposed a boycott on trade with any colony refusing to adopt similar resolutions; and recommended that "the Gentlemen of the Law in this Province, bring no Suit for the Recovery of any Debt due from any Inhabitant of this Province to any Inhabitant of Great Britain, until the said act be repealed."<sup>18</sup> This last provision passed by a narrow margin and caused considerable controversy, both in Annapolis and throughout the province.

<sup>17</sup> Boyd, *Jefferson Papers*, pp. 107-108.

<sup>18</sup> John Hall *et al.* to Peyton Randolph *et al.*, May 25, 1774, Purviance Papers.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton,  
1737-1832. Copy by Michael Laty  
after an original attributed to  
Robert Field. *Maryland His-  
torical Society*



Although the call for a suspension of debt collection proved too radical for many parts of the colony, the Annapolis resolutions generally determined the response of Maryland to the passage of the Boston Port Act. The committee in Baltimore, which had suspended its own deliberations in order to await news "from our Friends in Annapolis," called a county meeting on May 31 which endorsed the proposed boycott of trade and even suggested specific dates for the initiation of nonimportation and nonexportation.<sup>19</sup> Within two weeks, five other counties—Frederick, Charles, Harford, Anne Arundel, and Queen Anne—had called meetings which approved the idea of an embargo. Although these meetings stipulated that the boycott should not go into effect until endorsed by other towns throughout the colonies, Maryland pronounced herself ready to follow the lead of the Annapolis committee and endorse the suggestions of Boston.

With Maryland falling in behind the call for an immediate nonimportation and nonexportation agreement, Virginia's endorsement of similar measures would have carried the southern colonies and probably the entire continent. Realizing this, the Annapolis committee had, in addition to writing the several counties in Maryland, taken steps to prod its more prestigious

<sup>19</sup> Force, *American Archives*, p. 367.

neighbor to the south. In preparing a letter to "Peyton Randolph & Other Gentlemen of Williamsburg," the Annapolis committee composed a diplomatic tour de force. They began with a deferential reference to the past leadership of Virginia and an apology for presuming to suggest a course of action to the older colony. Only the necessity of immediate action, they explained, had prevented them from awaiting "with Pleasure your Resolutions, which we cannot doubt will be formed on the same generous Principles, which have hitherto actuated your Colony on every late Attempt against American liberty." Because the time element unhappily made such a delay impossible, Annapolis suggested that the House of Burgesses, whom they assumed were still in session, take the "Sense of the People" on the resolutions recently adopted in Maryland.<sup>20</sup>

Significantly, the letter composed in Annapolis on May 25 made no reference to the origin of the resolutions proposed or the authority by which the committee transmitted them to Virginia. The letter was signed by John Hall, Charles Carroll, Thomas Johnson, Jr., William Paca, Matthais Hammond, and Samuel Chase, all of whom except Carroll were also members of Maryland's provincial Committee of Correspondence.<sup>21</sup> Since the membership of the newly created Annapolis group corresponded so closely to that of the provincial committee, Peyton Randolph, Speaker of the House of Burgesses, made the inevitable mistake. He assumed that the letter came from the official Maryland committee and that it represented, in some degree, the attitude of the Maryland colonial Assembly. It is difficult to believe that Randolph's correspondents in Annapolis had not intended that he make that error. They knew that the House of Burgesses had initiated the appointment of the provincial Committees of Correspondence and were accustomed to treating the communications of such groups with considerable respect.<sup>22</sup> Why else would the Annapolis group have avoided explaining that both the resolu-

<sup>20</sup> John Hall *et al.* to Payton Randolph *et al.*, May 25, 1774, Purviance Papers.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> See the Virginia Committee of Correspondence Papers, Sparks Transcript, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va., for the correspondence of the House of Burgesses with other assemblies on the organization of an intercolonial committee system, 1773-1774.



tions that they proposed and the authority under which they acted stemmed from an impromptu meeting called on May 25? Indeed the entire proceedings of this so-called committee suggest a rather careful plan on the part of a few individuals to counteract the moderating effect which the resolutions of New York and Philadelphia had had on the movement for a trade embargo.

The letter from Annapolis arrived in Williamsburg on May 29, and Peyton Randolph immediately summoned the burgesses still remaining in the city to a special meeting. Twenty-five members responded to the Speaker's invitation and met on May 30 to discuss the proposals from Maryland, the resolves of the Boston town meeting, and the letter from Philadelphia. As the communication from Annapolis did not enclose the resolutions of New York—an omission which the Virginia committee subsequently noted in its reply to the Marylanders—the burgesses had before them letters from two provinces calling for an immediate suspension of trade and only one (from Philadelphia) expressing reservations about that policy.<sup>23</sup> Having read over these papers, several of the Virginia representatives moved to endorse the call for an immediate embargo of trade with Great Britain. Others objected, noting especially that since Virginia lived on her sales of tobacco the immediate implementation of nonexportation would have serious effects on the economy of the colony and that, in any case, so small a meeting should not decide on measures that would affect the entire province. As a result of this debate the assembled burgesses concluded that a provincial convention should meet in Williamsburg on August 1. In a broadside sent to the burgesses who had left town, the twenty-five stated that “most Gentlemen present seemed to think it absolutely necessary” to extend the recent Nonimportation Association to include a stoppage of British imports but that “we were divided in our Opinions as to stopping our Exports.” They proposed that the delegates collect the sense of their respective counties so that the convention in August could “conclude finally on this important question.”<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Virginia Committee of Correspondence to the Maryland Committee of Correspondence, May 31, 1774, Purviance Papers.

<sup>24</sup> Boyd, *Jefferson Papers*, pp. 111-112.



Richard Henry Lee. Stipple portrait from *The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans*, (Philadelphia, 1836)  
*Maryland Historical Society*

Had the meeting assembled in Williamsburg on May 30 thrown its support to Boston and Annapolis, as some who were present wanted to do, restrictions on trade would no doubt have begun before, rather than after, the First Continental Congress met. New York and Philadelphia would have accepted the measure reluctantly, but would have found it impossible to resist the pressure of the southern colonies combined with those of New England. Even though Virginia did not endorse an immediate embargo, the letter from Annapolis had had considerable effect in the Old Dominion and throughout the continent. The burgesses had expressed their approval of nonimportation in no uncertain terms and had arranged for the meeting of a provincial convention, which ultimately would adopt a specific association for the implementation of such a measure and also elect delegates to an intercolonial congress. When North and South Carolina subsequently adopted a similar stance, New England took heart and the efforts of the merchants in the Middle Colonies to avoid the adoption of an embargo were doomed to failure. Nathaniel Coffin, who had earlier entertained hopes that the "Party" in Boston might lose the initiative, now wrote that Massachusetts had "lately received great Encouragement from Charlestown, Williamsburg, and Annapolis . . . whose Resolves have increased the Flame at New York and Philadelphia."<sup>25</sup>

The members of the impromptu committee in Annapolis

<sup>25</sup> Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Stuart, July 6, 1774, Charles Stuart Papers, National Library of Scotland.

may have been disappointed at Virginia's refusal to endorse their resolutions in toto, but they must have smiled knowingly when the House of Burgesses received credit for having taken the lead in the southern colonies. The Marylanders had also learned an important lesson in leadership. It was only a few days later that the members of the Committee of Correspondence of Maryland, this time acting in their official capacity, repeated the procedure perfected at Annapolis in an effort to set the time and place of the First Continental Congress. Once more a Maryland committee apologized to Virginia for taking the lead and cited the necessity of swift action as a justification for offering advice. Once again the advice was specific, suggesting that "the General Congress be held at the City of Philadelphia, the twentieth of September next."<sup>26</sup> Perhaps it is only the imagination which projects a touch of irritation into the reponse of at least one prominent Virginian to the repeated suggestions emanating from Annapolis. George Washington wrote Maryland's Thomas Johnson, Jr., that the Burgesses had accepted Maryland's suggestion of Philadelphia, "tho judged an improper place," but had fixed upon the fifth of September, as proposed by South Carolina, for the time. Just in case Johnson missed the point, Washington added that "these measures, or Appointments were more the Effects of a seeming Necessity, than Choice; and entered into by us to prevent any disappointment or Confusion which might arise from a Change of them; being finally agreed to after Lancaster, and the 15th of Sepr. were the Time and Place first chosen."<sup>27</sup>

It would be difficult to determine the exact nature of the influence which the "Inhabitants" of Annapolis had on either the plans for the congress or the decision to invoke an embargo of British trade, but that they played a significant role in both instances is undeniable. The activities of these individuals in Annapolis demonstrate the extent to which the committee system allowed a few persons in a single town to exert enormous influence in organizing and directing the Revolutionary movement. Such men, by the exertion of initiative and determina-

<sup>26</sup> The Maryland Committee of Correspondence to the Virginia Committee of Correspondence, June 16, 1774, Purviance Papers.

<sup>27</sup> George Washington to Thomas Johnson, Jr., Aug. 5, 1774, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, III (Indianapolis, 1931), pp. 235-236.

tion, were able to appear in other colonies as the spokesmen for an entire city or even a colony and so to initiate activities which, once begun, were difficult to reverse. Since Virginia had no other source of information, the burgesses who met on May 30 deliberated under the assumption that two major colonies had moved to initiate nonimportation and that only Philadelphia was reluctant. This situation forced Virginia to adopt more spirited measures in order to maintain her position of leadership in the colonies, and so it went. As committees were organized in towns and counties throughout America, they simply seized control of the lines of communication and became the molders of public opinion. The more conservative members of the community either would not or could not put forth the effort necessary to reverse this development and so lost their potential to influence the course of events. Much work remains to be done before it will be possible to assess the importance of the committee system in precipitating the Revolution, but it is increasingly apparent that its significance has been underrated.

# SIDELIGHTS

## NINETY-FIVE PIONEERS: THE FIRST STUDENTS ENROLLED AT LOYOLA COLLEGE, 1852-53

By NICHOLAS VARGA

FOR one hundred and eighteen years, Loyola College has been a part of the life of Baltimore and of Maryland. Its history, except for the modest "sketch" compiled for the College's fiftieth anniversary,<sup>1</sup> has remained a work often begun but too often abandoned. The sources were considered "dauntingly scant" by more than one person who began this project. The most recent search, however, has turned up many of the early records and even some correspondence. These documents were scattered in various repositories. Together, they provide sufficient material for a thoroughly documented history of this long-lived institution.

College histories begin, frequently enough, with an emphasis on the "founding fathers" and the process by which their vision became a reality. Less attention is paid to the students who made up the first class even though their characteristics may, in some measure, be taken as a concrete application of the institution's originating purpose. This choice is understandable in an extended narrative since a detailed description of these students, however interesting in itself, would also slow the pace of a full history. Fortunately, this data can be adapted to the requirements of a historical essay.

### I

On September 15, 1852, fifty-eight boys and young men enrolled in Baltimore's new Jesuit college. Since administrative procedures were considerably less formal then, the number of students increased during the course of the year to 95-96, if Charles Ballou were included but he stopped only long enough to register. The notation after his name continues: "not being able to get boarding at reasonable terms, went to Emmetsburg [sic]."<sup>2</sup>

These ninety-five students were a varied lot. Their ages ranged

<sup>1</sup> John J. Ryan, *Historical Sketch of Loyola College, Baltimore, 1852-1902* (n.p., 1903?).

<sup>2</sup> Loyola College Register of Students, 1852-1862, Loyola High School Archives, Towson. The register is arranged generally in alphabetical order but under each letter, the names are entered according to the date of entry. There is no pagination.

from twenty-three years old down to nine; most (as one might expect) were Catholics, but a significant proportion were not; some came from families prominent in the life of Baltimore and Maryland, while the status of others was quite modest; there were ten sets of brothers.

Loyola College was being opened in 1852 to fill the void created by the closing of St. Mary's College. For more than half a century, this latter school had been conducted by the Sulpicians in conjunction with a seminary for candidates to the Catholic priesthood. It had been a liberal arts college with the standard curriculum of classical languages, mathematics, science, and philosophy. St. Mary's College had developed a respected reputation and enjoyed the patronage of non-Catholics because it had never imposed any creedal qualification for admission. Among its alumni were such Maryland notables as: Severn Teackle Wallis, Reverdy Johnson, Jr., Oden Bowie, and A. Leo Knott. In 1852, the new Archbishop, Francis Patrick Kenrick, ended more than a decade of intermittent concern with a suggestion that St. Mary's College be closed. The Jesuits, it was understood, would immediately open a new school in its stead.<sup>3</sup>

At the time, there were only two other collegiate institutions in the City—The Baltimore College and Newton University. The first was a branch of the University of Maryland, while the latter was a private corporation with an "enormous board of regents, 77 in number." As was common in that era, both schools offered secondary and college level programs. Latin and Greek occupied a substantial part of the curriculum, although Newton also supplemented this with an emphasis on the natural sciences. Clergymen of various denominations constituted an important segment of the faculties of both schools and could at times be found listed among their presidents or deans. Neither of these institutions, however, seems to have won the allegiance of Baltimoreans. Both produced a miniscule number of graduates, and both ceased to exist around the time of the Civil War.<sup>4</sup>

A dozen days before the opening of the new Jesuit college, its presence and what it offered was advertised. The announcement in *The Sun* read in part:

College of Loyola, Holliday Street, Corner of Orange Alley, Baltimore. This Institution, which is designed to supply the vacancy occasioned by the discontinuation of St. Mary's College, so long

<sup>3</sup> Charles G. Herbermann, *The Sulpicians in the United States* (New York, 1916), pp. 295-296.

<sup>4</sup> George H. Calcott, *A History of the University of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1966), pp. 55-66; Bernard C. Steiner, *History of Education in Maryland* (Washington, 1894), pp. 260-267.



Reverdy Johnson, 1796-1876. An engraving by the Atlantic Publishing & Engraving Co. Maryland Historical Society

and so favorably known to the citizens of Baltimore . . . will be opened for the reception of students on Wednesday, September 15, 1852. . . . The course of studies will differ little from that heretofore pursued in St. Mary's, and will be essentially the same as that now followed at Georgetown College . . . embracing the Latin, Greek, French, and Spanish languages, and a complete course of Mathematics. Mental and Natural Philosophy and Chemistry will also be taught . . . The College is intended for day scholars only. Terms of tuition will be precisely the same as at St. Mary's, viz:—\$60 per annum. . . .

This advertisement, signed "John Early, President," was repeated a week later in the same journal.

On that mid-September Wednesday, the faculty which greeted the boys and young men was small, rather young, but experienced. The President, Father Early, was thirty-eight years old and had taught at Georgetown College. From 1848 to 1851, he had served as president of Holy Cross College in Worcester, Massachusetts. He was, according to one of the entering students, a man of "many amiable and lovable qualities . . . the right man in the right place."<sup>5</sup> Six years later, Father Early was to become the president of Georgetown. In his obituary notice, he was described as a gentleman of the "old school"—not a "brilliant man, but one of breadth and soundness of views."<sup>6</sup>

Assisting him were three other Jesuit priests, namely, James A.

<sup>5</sup> Ryan, *Historical Sketch*, p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph T. Durkin, *Georgetown University: The Middle Years (1840-1900)* (Washington, 1963), p. 48; *The Georgetown College Journal*, I (June, 1873), p. 82, reprint from *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), May 31, 1873.

Ward, Samuel Lilly, and Anthony Maraschi. Ward was a year older than Early, while Lilly and Maraschi were respectively thirty-four and thirty-six years old; they had all previously taught at Georgetown. Father Ward had then gone on to become the vice-president of Gonzaga College in Washington. Lilly and Maraschi, on the other hand, were sent to Holy Cross where they served with Father Early. Ward and Lilly differed in temperament; Ward was the uncompromising disciplinarian, while Father Lilly was "uniformly gentle and forbearing" to his students. At the new college in Baltimore, James Ward taught chemistry, Lilly, bookkeeping and arithmetic, while philosophy was assigned to Anthony Maraschi. The latter two Jesuits were at Loyola only for a brief period. At the end of the year, Father Maraschi left for California where he organized the institution which later became the University of San Francisco. Samuel Lilly, on the other hand, died of pneumonia in November, 1854.

In addition to these priests, there were also five "scholastics"—Jesuits who had completed most of their long course of studies but who had not yet been ordained. To Robert Fulton were assigned the classes in "Poetry" and "Rhetoric"; these are roughly equivalent to the present-day sophomore and junior years of college. Edward McNerhany and Thomas Sheerin got the "Humanities" sections or what today would be the upper classes of high school. "Rudiments," i.e., the first two years were allotted to Patrick Forhan and Edmund Young. Their average age, relying on data from the Jesuit catalogues, was twenty-seven years old and they had taught for about four years before being sent to Loyola.<sup>7</sup> Sheerin's correspondence indicates how eager a group of young men they were.<sup>8</sup> Two of them, Messrs. Fulton and McNerhany, would be listed among the incorporators when Loyola College was chartered by the state legislature in 1853.<sup>9</sup>

## II

This was the institution and faculty to which the ninety-five young men and boys applied. Who were these pioneer-students? Where did they live? How did their parents and guardians make their liv-

<sup>7</sup> Anon. History of Loyola College, 1852-1892, unpublished mss., Loyola College Archives, c. 1960, pp. 59-62; Ryan, *Historical Sketch*, pp. 16-19; Joseph Riordan, *The First Half Century of St. Ignatius Church and College* (San Francisco, 1905), pp. 69-71.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Sheerin to Samuel Barher, Dec. 12, 1852, Md.-N.Y. Province Archives 220 K9, Jesuit Provincial House, Baltimore.

<sup>9</sup> "An Act to incorporate the Associated Professors of Loyola College, in the City of Baltimore," *Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland of 1853*, Chap. 141. The incorporators were: John Early, James A. Ward, Samuel Lilly, Anthony Maraschi, James R. Fulton, Edward T. McNerhany.



ings? How old were they? What was their religious persuasion? The answers to these questions are derived, in the main, from the College registers; the remainder has, for the most part, been found in various editions of *Matchett's Baltimore Director*.

While the register entries tend to be rather formal, some interesting notations also appear. "Gratis" or "1/2 price" was written after some. These meant that even the low tuition had been completely or partially remitted. Such subsidies were a common practice in American colleges of that period.<sup>10</sup> At Loyola, however, it did not operate as it did elsewhere to depress the low salaries of the faculty because the Jesuits were paid no salaries. If the remissions of tuition lowered the College's income, it might mean a tightening of belts or a more frugal use of coal or a curtailment in the small quota of cigars and the like. However it could be managed; a student's penury was no obstacle to admission nor would any teacher be reduced to a level of poverty that he had not already willingly accepted.

There were other notes in the College registers—some rather curious. One can imagine the mother who suggested that hers was "a delicate boy" and why the registrar thought it wise to note this judgment. Next to another name the word "Absconded" was written with broader and firmer strokes of the pen than had been used on less final matters. One lad could be considered a nineteenth century "dropout;" of him it was written: "ran away from home too often to be allowed to come back." Both the delinquencies and the practice of noting them was not unique to Loyola but was common procedure at other schools as well.<sup>11</sup> For some students, there was recorded the date that they left, rarely why, and occasionally that they had returned. Graduation dates and degrees seemed to evoke the most elegant of the scribe's flourishes.

The ages of the ninety-five who enrolled in that first year might seem rather young by present-day standards. But the curriculum covered both the secondary and college levels. Fifteen years of age was generally acceptable for admission to collegiate studies and ten appears to have operated as the norm for entrance into high school.<sup>12</sup> Two members of this first group (Haslet McKim and Augustine O'Donnell) were only nine years old, but the education of the first was already somewhat advanced, while the father of the second served as physician to the Jesuit community. The median age of

<sup>10</sup> Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York, 1962), p. 199.

<sup>11</sup> Calcott, *University of Maryland*, p. 179.

<sup>12</sup> Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War* (Hamden, Conn., 1965), p. 3; Calcott, *University of Maryland*, p. 62.

Loyola's first enrollment was fourteen with over two-thirds in the brackets between twelve and sixteen years old. The age-distribution, in tabular form was:

Age	Number	Age	Number
9.....	2	16.....	11
10.....	4	17.....	3
11.....	5	18.....	7
12.....	15	19.....	1
13.....	14	20.....	1
14.....	16	23.....	1
15.....	10	unknown.....	5

Much the same age pattern persisted during the ensuing decades.

In addition to their ages, the religious affiliations of these students were also noted in the College register. A small fraction, more than 25 per cent, were Protestants, and this proportion remained substantially unchanged in the course of the following decades. There was a small number for whom no religious affiliation was recorded. Somewhat smaller still were the entries in which the phrase "No Religion" appeared. The first Jewish student, Abraham Eilau, was admitted in 1855; in the course of later years, eleven other Jewish students enrolled. These included: Jacob Arnold, son of Dr. Abraham Arnold (both father and son were well-known Baltimore doctors); Mark Anthony Blumenberg, the son of General Julius J. Blumenberg who was the federal provost-marshal for Maryland during the Civil War; and the three sons of Reuben Oppenheimer—Edward, Bernard, and Martin; their nephew is the distinguished Maryland Court of Appeals judge. The admission of so religiously varied a student-body was probably the result of the long Jesuit and Maryland tradition, as well as the precedent set by St. Mary's College.

Correlating the religious persuasions of the original group with their ages and the classes to which they were assigned provides a more specific profile. While their median age was fourteen, that for the Protestants was higher by a year and conversely that of the Catholics was a year less. The Protestants, though only one-fourth of the total number, made up half of the classes in "First Humanities" (i.e., college freshman), "Poetry," and "Rhetoric." The most advanced class, "Philosophy," had three Protestants and no Catholics. Since the age and religious affiliation patterns remained nearly constant, the main outlines of this model were probably repeated.

Where at least a majority of these students lived can be accurately pinpointed. Indeed, *Matchett's Director* and the College registers give evidence that these families were rather mobile even though their rate of movement did not reach our present "mania" for

Severn Teackle Wallis, 1796-1876.  
*Maryland Historical Society*



changing our residences. More than half the students lived within a square described by railroads which then traversed part of Monument Street on the north, Central Avenue to the east, Pratt Street to the south, and Howard Street on the west.<sup>13</sup> Loyola College at Holliday Street was strategically located near the center of this railroad-bounded "square." Though now the core of the "inner city" and thoroughly commercialized, this "square" in 1852 was a fashionable residential neighborhood. There was a scattering of students living beyond the limits of this "square," but for the most part, they were within walking distance of the new College.

A few were listed for addresses outside the city. The Carroll brothers (Albert Henry and Robert Goodloe Harper) may have been driven from Doughreghan Manor each day or more probably stayed in town with some obliging relative. In the course of the first decade or so, students came to Loyola from Howard, Alleghany, and Calvert counties, from Watertown, New York, Pittsburgh, New Orleans, St. Louis, and Front Royal, Virginia. Some of these were listed as living with relatives while others had found suitable lodgings in the city.<sup>14</sup> Such residence-locations and living arrangements indicate a relatively prosperous status.

This note is supported, in some measure, by the livelihoods listed

<sup>13</sup> The map used was: *Colton's City of Baltimore Maryland*, 1855. A copy is available at the Enoch Pratt Free Library.

<sup>14</sup> See the entries for: Bernard B. Brown (Howard), Henry Charles Cross (Alleghany), Henry Pyfer (Calvert), Daniel B. Dorsey (Watertown), Joseph Letzkus (Pittsburgh), Adolphe Piffet (New Orleans), John Tams (St. Louis), Edward Malone (Front Royal). Patrick Forhan was an immigrant from Ireland and the nephew of a Jesuit; he boarded at the College, itself. The entries are all to be found in: *Loyola College Register of Students*, 1852-1862.

for the parents and guardians in *Matchett's Director*. About one-fifth of the Loyola students were the sons or wards of doctors and lawyers. A smaller number were the responsibilities of men who operated small shops or stores. Wholesale or commission merchants constituted the next smaller group. For thirteen of these students, only their mother's name was listed in the College register and these presumably were widows; two of them (Bridget Gleeson and Hannah McGreevey) were trying to make ends meet by operating their own businesses. Among the remainder of the student-body were the offspring or charges of lottery venders, customs officers, contractors, bankers, stock and bill brokers, clerks, bookkeepers, an officer of a Baltimore newspaper, and a captain—presumably a seafarer. This variety would make them a sampling of Baltimore and Maryland society.

### III

After being enrolled, the next most important concern was the class assignments. New students were tested for their proficiency in Latin and Greek, math, and modern languages. Age was not a determining factor since some of the younger entrants were placed in classes more advanced than the ones to which their older fellows were assigned. For instance Francis McGirr, who was twenty-three years old, and Adolphus Bennett, twenty, were adjudged qualified only for the middle classes of high school. Bennett had transferred from Georgetown and thus was not tested. Reports of his conduct, however, prompted Father Early to stipulate that the first or second transgression of any rule would "merit his expulsion."<sup>15</sup> The welcome for the transferees from St. Mary's College must have been more cordial; they apparently had only to report what courses they had already completed at the other school. Three of them were assigned to the final class of "Philosophy," while Edward Milholland was placed in the equivalent of the first year of college. He had at least eight other companions from St. Mary's in his class. One or two others had as large a contingent and no class had less than a pair of transferees. Almost one-half of the first registrants at Loyola had come from St. Mary's; these numbered "nearly all the day scholars" of the now-defunct college.<sup>16</sup> On the basis of these preliminary tests and reports, each student was given a class (such as "Third Humanities"), an arithmetic or math section, and another in French or Spanish.

<sup>15</sup> Sheerin to Barber, Dec. 12, 1852, Md.-N.Y. Province Archives, 220 K9.

<sup>16</sup> *Journal of St. Ignatius Church*, XV (Dec., 1908), pp. 9-10; *Memorial Volume of the Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary of St. Sulpice, Baltimore, Md.* (Baltimore, 1896), pp. 180-188.

The basic assignments, the ones which covered the work of the morning hours, were eight in number. In ascending order, they were: Second Rudiments; Rudiments; Third, Second, and First Humanities; Poetry, Rhetoric, and Philosophy. Most of this first group were put into the two divisions of Rudiments. Their instructors were Messrs. Forhan and Young. According to the College catalogue, they were responsible for: English Grammar, History of the Bible, Geography, Latin Grammar, Viri Romae, or Cicero's Select Letters, Latin and English Exercises. In Third Humanities, Thomas Sheerin augmented these subjects with Greek grammar and readings as well as the geography of North America. There were a total of seventeen pupils in Mr. Sheerin's class. The students in Second Humanities, in addition to the Latin, Greek and English, studied the history of ancient Greece and the geography of South America and Europe; six students were assigned to this level. The next higher class, First Humanities, had nine members, and their geographical horizons were expanded to include Asia and Africa. Robert Fulton taught a combined class of "Poets" and "Rhetoricians"—together they numbered only eight. The emphasis in Mr. Fulton's classes was no longer grammar and translation but the elements of style and composition. English and American history were also introduced for the later year. The three college seniors were the charges of Father Anthony Maraschi, who taught them logic, metaphysics, and ethics—in Latin. The morning hours, thus, were spent on the subjects which also engaged the attention of their counterparts elsewhere.<sup>17</sup>

The rest of the day was devoted to other subjects. The noon hour or so was reserved for the various levels of arithmetic and the different branches of mathematics. While in the catalogue these were assigned to specific classes, such as Algebra for Second Humanities, students were in fact assigned to various courses and sections according to their ability.

During the afternoon session, most of these Loyola students turned to the study of French or Spanish. There were four levels of French. Again as with the math sections, assignments varied so there was one college sophomore, a high school senior, and four juniors with a large number from Rudiments in the same French class. A similar mixture also appeared in the other sections. The seven students of Spanish represented an even more varied combination. Their instructor, Joseph Pizarro, had previously served on the faculty of St. Mary's College where Severn Teackle Wallis was numbered among his pupils. Pizarro was at the time also

<sup>17</sup> "Prospectus of Loyola College," *Loyola College Catalogue, 1854-55*, pp. 6-8; David R. Dunigan, *A History of Boston College* (Milwaukee, 1947), pp. 77-82; Calcott, *University of Maryland*, pp. 62-63.

Spain's vice-consul in Baltimore.<sup>18</sup> Despite the fact that he was only a part-time instructor, he was nonetheless the first layman on Loyola's faculty.

This hour, when the high school students and college freshmen perfected their skills in French and Spanish, was spent by the others in the study of chemistry. Father Ward was the instructor and he made sure that none of his pupils would, as the artist Whistler once did, mistake silicon for a gas. At some American colleges, the Renaissance emphasis on literature was being modified grudgingly to accommodate the Enlightenment's devotion to scientific knowledge. While it was making only a "bloody entrance" at other liberal arts colleges, an acceptance of science at Jesuit institutions, if not characterized by a fanatic enthusiasm, was accomplished with less trauma. Georgetown, in this era, could boast a heavier requirement of chemistry than that which was required at Columbia, Harvard or Yale.<sup>19</sup>

The variations in placement, noted above, indicate the attention to individual differences and flexible practice at Baltimore's new Jesuit College. Some of the students undoubtedly moved from one classroom to another since no other arrangement was feasible for dealing with the varied assignments of the students. In the course of a day, a Loyola student was taught by several different instructors. Eugene Didier, for instance, sat in Mr. Forhan's Latin class, while Father Lilly taught him arithmetic and Edward McNerhany was his French teacher.<sup>20</sup> The students, therefore, associated with their fellows from a variety of classes and age-groups. This arrangement, whatever it contributed to a sense of cohesion, gave rise by the end of the century to a growing distaste among "college men" for the gaggle of "kids" with whom they were brought into contact.<sup>21</sup> Thoughts then arose of dividing the high school "department" from the college, but this was not accomplished until after World War I.

In this brief exposition of the subjects included in Loyola's curriculum, no mention has been made of religion. The announcements and earliest catalogues also paid little attention to a subject on which an American consensus existed. Religion, whatever the church or denomination, had been the prime-mover in the founding of America's colleges. It was generally agreed, though dissenting voices had begun to arise, that an education devoid of attention to religious doctrine and reinforced by the requirement of certain

<sup>18</sup> Herbermann, *Sulpicians*, p. 240.

<sup>19</sup> Rudolph, *American College*, pp. 229, 246; Durkin, *Georgetown*, p. 72.

<sup>20</sup> Ryan, *Historical Sketch*, p. 38, Didier later became an author and a leading figure in the revival of interest in Edgar Allan Poe. See John D. Wade, "Eugene Lemoine Didier," *D.A.B.*, V, p. 307.

<sup>21</sup> Durkin, *Georgetown*, pp. 187, 213.

religious practices was in reality no education worthy of the name. At Loyola, some portion of Mr. Sheerin's lessons are known to have dealt with religion and presumably the other teachers were no less diligent.<sup>22</sup> What the Jesuits did in this matter proved generally acceptable. At Holliday Street, the limitations of space made it impracticable to require attendance at religious services. After the College moved to Calvert Street, such regulations were introduced but applied only to the Catholic students.

After the mid-term examinations, class assignments were revised—some quite drastically. Eugene Didier proudly reported, nearly a half century later, how he had been promoted from Second Rudiments to Third Humanities and thereby skipped the intervening class; in the following year, he was advanced again.<sup>23</sup> Clearly, no rigid course was followed even though the subject matter was formally prescribed. Students moved ahead at the pace which their efforts justified. There were others less fortunate or possibly less diligent but understandably enough they left no personal record of their demotion.

No official listing of promotions and demotions has survived for this first group. The report after the February, 1857 examinations may, however, be taken as typical. Some few (less than ten) were advanced in the basic classes and about the same number were promoted in French. None were judged to be qualified for a more difficult level of arithmetic or mathematics—indeed, the whole Third Arithmetic section (except for two paragons) were put back to the next lower level. The Latin and Greek classes suffered nearly double the number of demotions as advancements. Some of the pupils, promoted in one subject, were put back in another.<sup>24</sup>

Judgment was rendered as the evidence warranted but not without some wit. In the verbal portion of the 1857 report, the scribe opined:

The proverb says: "Blessed are those who expect nothing, for they shall not be disappointed." We did not expect nothing, but we got it and were more than sadly disappointed.<sup>25</sup>

Nevertheless, the reporter was gratified at the progress of the few and thought the others might yet be brought to ponder the lesson now hopefully evident.

<sup>22</sup> Tewksbury, *Founding of American Colleges*, pp. 3-5, 55; Rudolph, *American College*, pp. 73-79; Sheerin to Barber, Dec. 12, 1852, Md.-N.Y. Province Archives, 220 K9.

<sup>23</sup> Ryan, *Historical Sketch*, p. 39.

<sup>24</sup> "Report of the February Examination 1857," Loyola College Archives, pp. 13-14.

<sup>25</sup> "Report of the February Examination 1857," p. 5.

## IV

The new College's first year was brought to a close with appropriate ceremony. On July 12, 1853, a commencement exercise was conducted in the Assembly Rooms, a new and elegant hall at the corner of Hanover and Lombard streets. A band, The Independent Blues, opened the program promptly at 9 a.m. with an "inspiring march . . . admirably rendered." The band played from a gallery behind the raised platform on which the students "to the number of about 90" were seated. Further forward, on the ground floor, were the "Catholic Clergy of the City and the Faculty of the Institution"—Archbishop Kenrick presiding.

There followed (for how long can only be imagined) a series of sixteen dialogues and addresses, interspersed with musical selections. If rather "crowded" by present-day standards, it was the common practice in ante-bellum America. The oratorical subjects ranged from a defense of the study of Greek to the glories of Maryland and the future of America. Three young men amused the audience with a verse-dialogue on "Disappointments." They each in turn portrayed a "hungry office-seeker, who had failed in his efforts to fatten on the spoils;" a schoolboy, "tired of 'College rules and slavery';" and a gold-hunter, "who returned without even a grain of the precious dust. . . ." To this last performer was assigned the task of drawing the moral that "honesty industry" was to be preferred to glittering illusion. At least one of the other orators proved so charming that his "fair listeners" scattered flowers at his feet; it was a common-enough tribute in that era.<sup>26</sup>

When the speeches and dialogues had ended, Archbishop Kenrick congratulated the performers—then turned to confer the degrees and prizes. Three distinguished gentlemen, a Georgetown graduate and two St. Mary's alumni, were awarded honorary degrees. Each was elevated to the dignity of a "Master of Arts." The practice of granting the grander doctorates, *honoris causa*, had not yet become common in America. Two brothers, namely George and William Warner, were given their bachelor of arts diplomas, and with one final band number, the program was closed.

Observers judged it to have been a creditable performance. The reporter for *The Sun* concluded his account with a summary evaluation and news of the future. "The College," he wrote, "is enjoying, at the present time, a large share of the public favor, and will extend its influences on the completion of the new building."<sup>27</sup> The

<sup>26</sup> "Local Matters," *The Sun* (Baltimore), July 13, 1853; unidentified news-clipping, possibly from the *Baltimore Patriot*, July, 1853, Archives of Loyola High School, Towson; Calcott, *University of Maryland*, pp. 125, 161.

<sup>27</sup> "Local Matters," *Sun*, July 13, 1853.



land on Calvert Street, which would be the site of Loyola College for nearly seven decades, had been leased about a month before these exercises. Classes, however, continued on Holliday Street until February of 1855.

By then, more than a third of the original group had left Loyola but only a few by graduation. Their reasons for leaving varied, but the most common was probably the one expressed by one father, himself a doctor. In mid-February, he explained why his two sons had not registered for the second semester. "One of them," he wrote, "enters a retail and the other a wholesale drug and apothecary shop on or about the 1st of March."<sup>28</sup> Anything more than a little learning was then thought not so much dangerous as unprofitable. In such an atmosphere, few colleges could survive or for that matter did. The American countryside by 1860 was strewn with the bleaching remains of hundreds of colleges. Nearly half the Catholic institutions, started between 1850 and 1866, also ceased to exist within the same period.<sup>29</sup> In such circumstances, the competition and struggle for survival can only be described as fierce.

The graduates, few though they were, represented a foundation for the future. Thirteen members of the original group did finally receive their A.B. degrees from Loyola. This was only about one in seven, but it was nearly the same proportion of graduates to entrants which also obtained at Georgetown.<sup>30</sup> Among the persevering were: Francis McGirr who became a teacher at Calvert College, New Windsor, Maryland—a unique educational venture conducted by Catholic laymen.<sup>31</sup> Edward Milholland and Charles Morfit became well-respected physicians in Baltimore. Michael A. Mullin and Charles B. Tiernan joined the bar while Maynard McPherson and William E. Gleeson also ascended the bench—the latter as judge in the Dakota territory during the Civil War. Andrew McLaughlin was variously described as an architect, artist and professor of art. Among the non-graduates, there also appeared several doctors and lawyers, a judge, another architect, an author, and a physicist of some renown.<sup>32</sup> Together with the graduates, they constituted a group which would reflect credit on any college. Their contributions to the life of Baltimore and of Maryland were, as the effect of every human life, ultimately incalculable.

<sup>28</sup> Felix S. Coskery to Edward Henchy, Feb. 16, 1857, Archives of St. Ignatius Church, Baltimore.

<sup>29</sup> Rudolph, *American College*, p. 219.

<sup>30</sup> Durkin, *Georgetown*, pp. 76-77.

<sup>31</sup> Ryan, *Historical Sketch*, p. 40; Steiner, *History of Education in Maryland*, pp. 267-268.

<sup>32</sup> Ryan, *Historical Sketch*, pp. 30-34, 39-40.

# NOTES ON MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

By NANCY G. BOLES, CURATOR OF MANUSCRIPTS

## BALTIMORE CITY COLLEGE RECORDS

FOR those unfamiliar with Baltimore, City College—despite its name—is not a college at all. Rather this historic and distinguished educational institution is a public, all male high school, believed to be the third oldest of its type still in continuous operation in the United States. Only a school in Boston and one in Philadelphia have a longer history.

City was founded in March, 1839, as “the High School” and renamed successively the Male High School in 1844 after the establishment of Western Female High School, and Central High School in 1850 to distinguish it from Eastern and Western. In 1866, as the first step in transforming it from a secondary school into a genuine college, it was renamed Baltimore City College. Although City never developed into this envisioned college, it did add a fifth year to its educational program and eventually became an outstanding college preparatory high school.

Last year (February, 1970) Baltimore City College transferred the bulk of its existing papers to the Maryland Historical Society for safekeeping, and scholars and antiquarians alike are richer for it. While there are some gaps in the chronological progression of the records, the files are complete enough to give a very good picture of the over one hundred years of service of this pioneer Baltimore high school. The printed material—runs of yearbooks, literary publications, and the like—is now housed in the Society’s library, while the manuscript portions have been catalogued in five collections. Four of these are records—minutes, correspondence, treasurer’s reports, ledgers—of literary or special events clubs at City and have logically been divided into separate, small collections and sorted out of the main body of City College papers.

The Current Events Club Records (MS. 1820.1) contain the minutes of this extracurricular organization for 1941-1942 and 1944. Also included is a file of correspondence to potential speakers. H. L. Mencken, columnist Frank Kent, and author Gerald W. Johnson are among those eminent Baltimoreans who replied to the club's invitations to speak.

In 1859 the Peabody Lyceum was formed by past members of the Central High School for the purpose of literary exercise. Original speeches, essays, debates, dialogue and criticism were all part of the weekly format. The Peabody Lyceum Records (MS. 1821) comprise one volume of minutes, 1859-1869, and a list of members for 1865 to 1869. On the average approximately twenty people attended some 500 weekly meetings from October 14, 1859, through June 11, 1869, when dissension forced the Lyceum to disband.

Named in honor of George Bancroft, historian and Secretary of the Navy, City College's first extracurricular society was founded in January, 1876, by Professor Henry E. Shepherd. The existing records of the Bancroft Literary Association (MS. 1822) begin thirteen years after its inception and continue with occasional gaps until 1943. Included in these papers are minutes, treasurer's reports and receipts for 1889-1894; ledgers for 1906-1913, 1912-1920; record books for 1916-1921, 1934-1935, 1940-1943; and a dues book, 1926-1927.

Two years after the appearance of the Bancroft Association, the Carrollton Literary Society was formed under the guidance of Professor Charles C. Wight of the English department. Upon his death in 1897, the name was changed to the Carrollton-Wight Literary Society. MS. 1823 contains the group's ledger from 1906-1911.

The most extensive and perhaps revealing papers of this valuable donation have been formed into the voluminous Baltimore City College Records, 1858-1953 (MS. 1820). Admission to this selective, prestigious, public high school was by ability, proven by written examinations. Thirty volumes of these bound Examinations for Admission have been preserved, with some years missing, from 1876-1891. Of interest as well are thirty books containing the Work of Candidates for the Central High School, 1858-1864, and then for the Baltimore City College, 1868-1884. Also included, perhaps for contrast,

are fourteen volumes of work done by students in various public primary, grammar, and high schools in Baltimore in 1876 and twenty books for 1893. The remaining volumes in this collection of 167 pertain to the students and faculty of City College only. There are class records, 1862-1912 (with some gaps); examination results for 1875; course record books—chemistry, art, French, Spanish—for the first four decades of the twentieth century; the library accession book for 1909-1911; miscellaneous scrapbooks and faculty handbooks; and the complete faculty minutes for 1868-1917 and 1926-1953.

Both for its role in the initiation of the concept of the public high school—in fact it was the precursor south of the Mason Dixon Line—and its long and distinguished career in implementing it, Baltimore City College deserves study. Perhaps because of its misleading name, the school has been often overlooked in histories of secondary education. These records, which the College has made readily available for all to use, will enable its history to be pursued more fully.

ACCESSIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF  
MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY<sup>1</sup> IN  
AUGUST, 1968.

I

Anacreontic Society of Baltimore, Minute Book (MS. 1793). Minutes, lists of members, history, list of glees and catches; 1 vol., 1820-26. Donor: Edward G. Howard.

Archer, George W., Historical Scrapbooks (MS. 1678). Harford County material; 13 vols., 1859-91, 1930. Donor: J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul.

Archer, George W., "The Neutralians" (MS. 1686). Ms. copy of the novel. Later it was called *More Than She Could Bear*; 2 vols., c. 1870. Donor: J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul.

Archer, John, Jr., Notes on Surgery (MS. 1650). Archer's notes on lectures delivered by Dr. Philip Syng, Pennsylvania Medical School; 1 vol., 1804. Donor: Not known.

Associate Reformed Church of Baltimore and First Congregational Church of Baltimore (MS. 1742); 13 vols., 1803, 1824-1900. Donor: Not known.

Balderston, Lucy Holmes, Album (MS. 1796). Autograph album

<sup>1</sup> Indexed listing and description of 1724 of the Society's collections. Available from the Society for \$15.00.

which includes a poem in the hand of Edgar Allan Poe, "Alone"; 1 vol., 1826-48. Donor: Mrs. E. H. Welbourn.

Baltimore City College Alumni Association Minutes (MS. 1736). Constitution, minutes, membership lists and accounts; 1 vol., 1885-1923. Donor: President, City College Alumni Association.

Baltimore City College Records (MS. 1820). Examinations for admission, samples of work done in different public schools in Baltimore, class records, faculty minutes, etc.; 167 vols., 1858-1953. Donor: Baltimore City College. (See above article).

Baltimore City College, 1905 Reunion Papers (MS. 1507); 2 boxes, 1905-68. Donor: Harry G. Marston.

Baltimore City Unclaimed Deeds (MS. 2011). In alphabetical order according to vendee; 93 boxes, 1792-1865. Donor: Baltimore City Land Office.

Baltimore County Debt Book (MS. 1711). Fragment with index; 1 vol., 1765-66. Donor: Basil Sollers.

Baltimore Eastern Dispensary Records (MS. 1864). Minutes and records of the Baltimore Second (later Eastern) Dispensary, a charitable institution in the Fells Point-Harford Run area; 2 vols., 1818-1947. Donor: Board of the Dispensary through George F. Sander.

Baltimore Lighterage Records (MS. 1734) of two firms, Baltimore Storage & Lighterage Co., 1887-93 and the Atlantic Transport Co., 1905-10; 2 vols. Donor: Not known.

Baltimore Trust Company Reports (MS. 1179). Papers from the estate of William Ingle, president of the Baltimore Trust Co., and letters to Ingle on bank matters; 1 box, 1916-26. Donors: The Misses Ingle.

Bancroft Literary Association Records (MS. 1822). Treasurer's reports, minutes, ledgers, record and dues books of this Baltimore City College extracurricular literary club; 7 vols., 1889-1943. Donor: Baltimore City College. (See above article).

Banks, Samuel, Blacksmith Ledger (MS. 1672). Lists customers and prices paid for services of this Anne Arundel County blacksmith; 1 vol., 1796-1801. Donor: Forrest F. Gesswier, Jr.

Boone, William Francis, Commonplace Book (MS. 1784). Notes on various legal terms and laws; 1 vol., 1830. Donor: Trafford P. Klots.

Boone Diaries (MS. 1750). Diaries of Sally P. Kennedy [Boone] in 1865 in Pennsylvania, William M. Boone, 1865, 1874-77, and Agnes Boone, 1888-97, while traveling in Europe and the western United States; 15 vols., 1865-97. Donor: Not known.

Booz, Charles W., & Sons Hauling Book (MS. 1267). Lists ships (tonnage, etc.) hauled on the marine railway; 1 vol., 1874-82. Donor: Richard H. Randall, Sr.

Booz, Charles W., & Sons Records (MS. 1671). Order books, account books, etc. of these Fells Point shipbuilders; 12 vols., 1880-1949. Donor: Richard H. Randall, Sr.

Bowie, Lucy Leigh, Collection (MS. 1755). Personal and family papers of Lucy Leigh Bowie. Also papers of the Gardiner, Hollyday, Davis, Leigh, and Kerr families; 3 boxes, 1790-1957. Donor: Estate of Lucy Leigh Bowie.

Briggs, Isaac, Papers (MS. 1716). Letters, diary and account of expenses on Erie Canal, 1817-18, food bills; 1 vol., 5 items, 1804-24. Donor: Harold B. Stabler.

Carmichael, William, Photostats (MS. 1698). Photostats of letters to Carmichael from Lafayette, Baron deKalb, John Paul Jones, Silas Deane on the conduct of the Revolutionary War and American diplomacy; 24 items, 1778-94. Donor: Louis H. Dielman.

Carroll, Dr. Douglas G., Jr., Papers (MS. 1851). 18th-19th c. letters, deeds, maps, etc. relating to Charles Carroll, Barrister and his descendants, the Caves, etc., and 27 diaries kept by Douglas G. Carroll, Jr., 1923-47; 3 boxes, 1724-1947. Donor: Dr. Douglas G. Carroll, Jr. Restricted.

Carroll, O'Carroll Genealogies (MS. 1998). 2 vols. and 5 items, late 18th c., 1875-76. Donors: Louis H. Dielman; John Nicholas, Charles Gordon, Douglas Gordon and John Marshall Carroll.

Carrollton-Wight Literary Society Ledger (MS. 1823). Ledger of a Baltimore City College extracurricular literary club; 1 vol., 1906-11. Donor: Baltimore City College. (See above article).

Charcoal Club Records (MS. 1792). Scrapbooks of clippings and minute books; 11 vols., 1888-1970. Donor: Charcoal Club, Inc.

Chavannes Papers (MS. 1833). Business and personal papers of Frank Straddon Chavannes (1870-1959), mechanical engineer and organizer of the Chesapeake Iron Works; 50 items, 1900-59. Donor: Mrs. Frank S. Chavannes.

Chisolm, Julian J., Letters (MS. 1713). Material relating to the medical and Civil War careers of Dr. Chisolm; 6 items, 1865-68. Donor: Not known.

Christ Church Records (MS. 1724). Vestry minutes of this Baltimore Episcopal Church; 4 vols., 1828-1903. Donor: Vestry of Christ Church.

"City of Norfolk" Radio Telephone Log (MS. 1651). Radio telephone log of this steamship of the Baltimore Steam Packet Co. (Old Bay Line) showing ship or shore station contacted; 1 vol., 1960-61. Donor: Richard H. Randall, Sr.

Civil War Diaries (MS. 1834). Of two soldiers in the Union Army, Adj. T. L. Matthews and an unknown provost guard; 2 vols., 1863-65. Purchase.

Clarke, Ambrose-von Kapff & Brune Shipping Papers (MS. 1754). Personal and business papers of Ambrose Clarke, Baltimore merchant shipper and father-in-law of Frederick Brune. Papers concern Clark's trade with the West Indies and Europe during the Napoleonic wars, material on the ships owned or leased by Clarke, correspondence, etc.; 10 boxes, 1793-1829. Donor: Not known.

Clendenin, Mary Ella, Album, (MS. 1767). Autograph album signed by the 1874 graduating class of Lutherville Female Academy; 1 vol., 1874. Donor: Emily Stevens Tully.

Cockey Family Papers (MS. 1782). Includes patents, plats, wills, bills, receipts, account book, etc.; 2 vols. and 200 items, 1725-1908. Donor: Mrs. Charles B. Rogers.

Cohn and Bock Company Records (MS. 1759). Ledgers, account books, canceled checks and letters of this Eastern Shore poultry firm and feed and box manufacturer; 28 vols. and 3 boxes, 1882-1934. Donor: Mrs. E. Herrman Cohn.

Coleman, Rev. John, Papers (MS. 1749). Sermons, pamphlet on predestination, poems, notes, and handwritten hymns of this Episcopalian minister; 61 items, 1775-1815. Donor: Not known.

Commissioners for Opening Streets, Baltimore, Correspondence (MS. 1819). Letters mostly signed by John L. Sanford, Acting President of the Commission, and Harry A. Remley; 7 vols., 1913-15. Donor: John L. Sanford.

Cook, Bernard H., Bank Book (MS. 1746). 1 vol., 1835-39. Donor: Not known.

Current Events Club Records (MS. 1820.1). Minutes and a file of correspondence of a Baltimore City College extracurricular organization; 3 vols., 1941-51. Donor: Baltimore City College. (See above article).

Dambmann, C. F., Ledger (MS. 1670). Corporate and private ledger of C. F. Dambmann & Co., New York importers of yard goods; 1 vol., 1867-79. Donor: Mrs. Carola G. Mattern.

Daneke, William Henry, Papers (MS. 1705). Material of this Baltimorean including school work books, business accounts, Sunday School records, Civil War pay accounts of 9th Maryland Volunteers, Civil War correspondence, etc.; 8 vols. & 22 items, 1852-89 & n.d. Donor: John Pentz.

Davis, John, Account Book (MS. 1475). Accounts for labor, taxes receipts for sale of corn and wheat, remarks on the Revolutionary War in Cecil Co., cotton accounts for 1868; 1 vol., 1751-81, 1868. Purchase.

Deer Creek [Agricultural] Club Minutes (MS. 1680). Harford Co., minutes and membership dues; 1 vol., 1875-77. Donor: J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul.

# GENEALOGICAL NOTES

By MARY K. MEYER

**B**EGINNING with this issue of the *Magazine* we are instituting a new feature, a listing of recent genealogical accessions, to complement our *Notes*. This is the fulfillment of a long-standing need to keep our readers abreast of what new works are being published as well as what older standard works are being reprinted. Unfortunately, it will be impossible to list each of the many works that have been received in the past, but we would like to draw attention to some of the more important genealogical works.

Within the past few years the old standard histories of Allegany, Cecil, Frederick, Kent, Montgomery, Talbot, Somerset, and Washington counties as well as Scharf's *History of Western Maryland* have been reprinted by the Genealogical and/or Regional Publishing Company of Baltimore. These histories vary in their value to the genealogist from the brief and not too informative *History of Montgomery County* to the excellent work on Somerset County. In addition to the reprinted county histories, entirely new histories of Calvert, Harford, and St. Mary's counties have been published and are to be found at the library.

A number of primary source records of Maryland have also been reprinted by the Genealogical Publishing Company. Among these are Baldwin's *Maryland Calendar of Wills, 1634-1743* in eight volumes, Brumbaugh's *Maryland Records, Colonial, Revolutionary County and Church*, and Magruder's *Index to Maryland Colonial Wills, 1634-1777*, all of which are indispensable tools for the genealogist working with Maryland families.

Among the more important new works published are Skordas's *Early Settlers of Maryland* and Meyer's *Divorces and Names Changed in Maryland 1634-1854*. One of the most useful tools for Maryland genealogical research, Passano's *Index to Source Records of Maryland*, has been reprinted by the Genealogical Publishing Company of Baltimore. Mrs. Passano's work lists both published and unpublished source



records held by the Maryland Historical Society and Maryland materials held by the D.A.R. Library in Washington, D.C. as of 1940. Although this work is limited by the cut-off date of 1940 and much additional material has been added in both libraries since, this work remains one of the most important for Maryland genealogical sources.

Also the library continues to receive additional unpublished and unique material of interest. Included in this category are the marriage and baptismal records kept by Dr. George E. M. Roberts, an elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore City, records of St. Paul's Evangelical Church, Howard County, and records of 15 churches in Washington County. We have also accessioned new and more complete translations of the records of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Frederick, Maryland, and records of Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church of Taneytown, Maryland.

Other important additions of Maryland genealogical source material accessioned in recent years are the 59 volumes of *Abstracts of Dorchester County Deeds* by James A. McAllister, Jr.; *Wills and Administrative Accounty of Allegany County, Marriages Licenses, 1791-1847*; *Allegany County, Abstracts of Land Records, 1795-1806*; and *Real Estate Tax Lists, 1804-1812*, all of Allegany County by the Cresap Chapter of the D.A.R. This D.A.R. Chapter has also compiled *Records of the Lutheran Church of Allegany County*, a volume of family and Bible records, *Records of the Centre Street Methodist Church, Cumberland, Maryland*, and the *Marriage Diary of Rev. William Shaw, 1792-1813*.

The all important census records have not been neglected. The Maryland Genealogical Society has published the 1800 censuses of Calvert, Prince George's and Charles counties in separate booklets. The Cresap Chapter has also compiled the 1800 census of Allegany County in booklet form. In recent years an index to the original 1800 census has been published by Charlotte A. Volkel, Lowell M. Vokel, and Timothy Q. Wilson.

These works that I have mentioned above are only a very small number of a great many works that have been published in the field over the past few years. Many readers will think of some particular work and ask why we did not list it. We would have liked to provide a complete list of publications over the

past few years; however, it is impossible to do so in the space allowed, but new accessions will be listed in future issues.

#### RECENT GENEALOGICAL ACCESSIONS

- Americans of Gentle Birth and Their Ancestors: A Genealogical Encyclopedia.* Ed. MRS H. D. PITTMAN. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1970. 2 vols. 1970. \$60.00.
- Ancestry of Janie Blackwell Hughes, 1879-1968 . . .* Compiled by M. B. W. EDMUNDS. 1969. 294.
- Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800.* By LEWIS PRESTON SUMMERS. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1970. 2 vols. \$30.00.
- Armorial Who's Who, 1966-1969 . . .* 3rd ed. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1969. 248. \$13.50.
- The Book of the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Louisiana.* By BEALE HOWARD RICHARDSON, IV. New Orleans, The Society, 1969. 194.
- The Clans, Sept. & Regiments of the Scottish Highlands.* By FRANK ADAM. Rev. by Sir Thomas Innes of Learney. 8th ed. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1970. 624. \$15.00.
- A Dictionary of Heraldry and Related Subjects.* By A. G. PUTTOCK. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970. 256. \$10.00.
- English Church Brasses from the 13th to the 17th Century.* By ERNEST R. SUFFLING. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1970. 456. \$15.00.
- Genealogical Data from New York Administration Bonds, 1753-1799 . . .* By KENNETH SCOTT. N.Y.: Genealogical & Biographical Soc. Coll., X, 1969. \$10.00.
- Genealogical Data from The New York Post-Boy, 1743-1773.* By KENNETH SCOTT. Washington, D.C.: Nat. Genealogical Soc., Special Publ., 35, 1970. \$7.50.
- A Genealogy of the Illinois Branch of the English Family . . .* By HUBERT M. ENGLISH. Gary, Ind.: The Author, 1969. 418. \$15.00.
- Historical Collections of Georgia.* By GEORGE WHITE. 3rd ed. repr. with name index by A. C. DUTTON. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1969. 688, 48. \$17.50.
- The History of Orangeburg County, South Carolina from its First Settlement to the Close of the Revolutionary War.* By A. S. SALLEY, JR. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1969. 572. \$12.50.
- Index of Baronetage Creations.* By C. J. PARRY. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1970. 177. \$16.00.

- John Skelton of Georgia.* By JOHN W. SKELTON. Brightwood, Va.: The Author, 1969. 975. \$30.00.
- The Knights of England . . .* By WM. A. SHAW. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1971. 2 vols. \$32.50.
- List of Private Claims . . .* repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1970. 3 vols. \$75.00.
- The Lives and Times of Our English Ancestors.* By FRANK SMITH. Logan: Everton Publs., 1969. 230. \$4.95.
- Louisiana Census Records. Vol. 1. Avoyelles & St. Landry Parishes, 1810-1820.* By R. B. L. ARDOUIN. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1970. 106. \$10.00.
- The Loyalists of America and Their Times: from 1620 to 1816.* By EGERTON RYERSON. 2nd ed., repr. New York: Haskell House, 1970. 2 vols. \$37.50.
- Making a Pedigree.* By JOHN UNETT. 2nd ed. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1971. 147. \$7.50.
- A Manual of Costume as Illustrated by Monumental Brasses.* By HERBERT DRUITT. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1970. 384. \$15.00.
- The Marshall Family.* By W. M. PAXTON. repr. Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1970. 415.
- Military Order of the World Wars, D.C. Chapter. Historical Record and Fiftieth Year Who's Who, 1919-1969.* D.C.: The Chapter, 1969. 186. \$15.00.
- The Mitchells and Days of Philadelphia . . .* By GEORGE VALENTINE MASSEY II. N.Y.: Herman Litho. Co., 1968. 302. \$5.95.
- Peerage and Pedigree: Studies in Peerage Law and Family History.* By J. HORACE ROUND. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1970. 2 vols. \$25.00.
- The Sanders Family of Grass Hills . . .* By ANNA V. PARKER. Ghent, Ky: The Author, 1966. 172. \$5.00.
- Studies in Peerage and Family History.* By J. HORACE ROUND. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1970. 496. \$15.00.
- Virginia Tithables from Burned Records Counties.* By R. F. & I. B. WOODSON. Richmond: The Compilers, 1970. \$10.00.
- The Vicissitudes of Families.* By SIR BERNARD BURKE. 2 vols. London, 1869. (out of print)
- Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania.* By T. A. GLENN. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1970. 2 vols. in 1. \$15.00.

## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*Perspectives in Public Welfare: A History.* By BLANCHE D. COLL. Introduction by Robert H. Bremner. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1969. Pp. viii, 107. \$.70.)

Several years ago I remarked to a colleague that what this country needs is a good short monograph on the topic of public welfare; Miss Coll has supplied it at a cost of not more than the price of a fine cigar. She briefly explores medieval and Elizabethan English customs, law, and attitudes towards poverty and relief and notes the high level of compassion toward the victims of misfortune. Next, attention is given to the rise of the "restrictive attitudes toward dependency" i.e., poverty was a failure of character. Whether the approach toward relief was the almshouse, outdoor relief or scientific charity, human needs were subordinated to the desire to make poverty, no matter what the cause, as disagreeable as possible.

The beginning of the twentieth century saw the origins of a professional approach to the welfare problem in the United States. At the same time efforts by governmental agencies began to assume a larger role that culminated in the virtual takeover of public welfare in the years of the Great Depression.

Miss Coll in her final chapter reflects on the "recurring parallels in current and past attitudes toward the indigent, in the means taken to relieve them, and in the efforts to make them self-supporting." She concludes that if we will undertake the economic costs involved, harness our compassion and technology, we can all benefit from the increased independence and participation in community life of the dependent person.

The book is well organized, indexed, and footnoted. The bibliography includes mention of the most important articles and books dealing with the topic. Interest in the book is enhanced by the inclusion of a number of illustrations.

Since Miss Coll's book is a government document, I hope that every member of Congress avails himself of the opportunity to acquire and read it. Furthermore I suggest that they send copies of it to every constituent in their district or state that needs enlightenment on the welfare problem.

*Eastern Illinois University*

DAVID J. MAURER

*George Washington's Expense Account.* By GEORGE WASHINGTON and MARVIN KITMAN. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970. Pp. 285, notes. \$5.95.)

This collaboration between the late George Washington (1732-1799), Lt. Gen., USA (ret.), and Marvin Kitman (1929- ), self-styled PFC (ret.), has achieved one of the most delightful pieces of historical miscellany of recent years. Private Kitman has taken the General's expense account book and supplied annotations to each item which sometimes elucidate, often obscure, and always amuse. The General maintained rather detailed attention to his expenses during the early years of the war but gradually included large sums under a single obscure heading—e.g., in March 1781 he established an all-time record by noting expenditures encountered “on a journey to Rhode Island on a visit to the French Army . . . \$19,848½.” After eight years the General turned into Congress a bill for \$449,261.51.

Private Kitman's notes exhibit considerable envy of the Father of Our Country. As a former lower echelon enlisted man, he is decidedly disrespectful toward the privileges of rank and honor which provided madeira for the general's table (at government expense) and watery soup in the enlisted mess (to the commissary's profit). Of greater importance to Kitman than the welfare of the troops is the delicate skill with which the General manipulates the expense account. Kitman believes himself a master of this living style, but he envies the way General Washington understood all the contemporary skills of the art and at the same time created additional ones—most of which would make a CPA blush as he tried to get them past the Internal Revenue Service. There is also a particularly poignant note concerning the “Lions” of eighteenth-century Britain who feared the domino effect of colonial independence upon the Empire so badly that they were willing to escalate the troop commitment to North America, hire foreign mercenaries, and plunge the nation into debt and inflation in order to preserve the super-power position of the Kingdom. Throughout the war the “Lions” found themselves opposed by a small group of eloquent, but treasonous, “Lambs” who felt the conflict involved a misdirection of national priorities (“A new bridge was needed in London”), the colonies were not worth the expense, and the real enemy was France.

*Washington's Expense Account* is heartily recommended for those who can take their history with a touch of tongue-in-cheek humor. Whatever literary and historical license the Private takes of the General and a host of Founding Fathers is more than compensated by the reader's obvious conclusion that human frailty has hardly changed for the worse in the last two centuries.

Bowling Green State University

DAVID CURTIS SKAGGS

*The Star Spangled Banner.* By OSCAR GEORGE THEODORE SONNECK.  
(New York: Da Capo Press, 1969. Pp. 115 and 25 illustrated  
plates. \$10.00.)

This is a reprint of the original 1914 edition of Sonneck's masterly treatise on *The Star Spangled Banner*, with its impressive bibliography and its supporting illustrations, all faithfully reproduced.

Sonneck, the scholarly first Chief of the Library of Congress' Music Division, published his preliminary study on the "Banner" under the Library's auspices in 1909. The 1914 book goes into much more detail, devoting the first half of its content to an examination of the origin of "Anacreon in Heaven," the melody for which had soon become so popular in the United States. Sonneck joins battle in the hassle over the identification of the composer and, in endorsing the claim of John Stafford Smith that the melody originated with him, refutes at the same time arguments that the tune belongs to the Irish, not the English.

His material on the *Star Spangled Banner* antedates by twenty years the voluminous study of the song by Joseph Muller, for which Sonneck provided a sound base. Muller deals mainly with early editions in sheet music form, whereas Sonneck delves deeply into the historical episode which inspired it, as well as the circulation of broadsides and the earliest rendition on the stage.

The Da Capo Press reprint is done in fine style, on good paper stock, and is neatly bound. Scholars who have not been able to acquire copies of the original study should be pleased that its material is again available.

Baltimore

LESTER S. LEVY

*A Belle of the Fifties: Memoirs of Mrs. Clay of Alabama, Covering Social and Political Life in Washington and the South, 1853-1866.* By VIRGINIA CLAY-COMPTON, put into narrative form by Ada Sterling. (New York: De Capo Press, 1969. Pp. xxii, 386. [The American Scene] De Capo Press Reprint Series, Reprint of the 1905 ed.)

Unlike the writings of Abigail Adams and Eleanor Roosevelt, most published recollections of politicians' wives are disappointing and uninformative. Virginia Clay-Compton's work, now readily available in a reprinted edition, should have been a notable exception. The author's first husband, Clement C. Clay Jr. of Alabama,

was a powerful political figure who played major roles in the Antebellum and Civil War crises. A spokesman for the South in the U.S. Senate until 1861, he declined to head the Confederacy's War Department in order to serve in its Senate until 1864. Jefferson Davis sent him to Canada to win support for the South, but the mission failed and after the War it led many to believe that Clay had been a conspirator in the Lincoln assassination. His subsequent imprisonment and Radical Reconstruction cut short his career in 1866, several years before his death.

More than most spouses, Clay's wife had an exceptional opportunity to witness and report on the important political decisions. Professing an interest in politics, present at crisis after crisis in Washington and Richmond, she was friends with such diverse notables as the Davises, Franklin Pierce and his wife, Sam Houston, Preston Brooks, and the fiancée of Stephen A. Douglas. In Washington the Clay's roominghouse, known as the Cabinet Mansion, was a virtual dormitory for the chief executives' advisors where Bleeding Kansas, Dred Scott and secession was daily table talk. Remembering all of this, the author had a keen sense of history and a collection of old letters which promised an outstanding volume when the memoirs first appeared in 1905. Yet, then as now, the work fails and, significantly, it puzzles the reader with unanswered questions and senseless judgments which cannot easily be explained. Sectionalism, for example, is the phenomenon of well-mannered white ladies from Dixie who refused to speak to "Black Republicans" as early as 1857 (p. 43). The War was caused by a greed unique to the North, but Southerners were too money-hungry to support the C. S. A. (pp. 150, 243). The South valued an "honorable" peace above all else, but its great virtue was to pursue the slaughter after 1863 despite the certainty of defeat (p. 178). Loving and loved, Southern blacks were also insolent and rebellious. Too ignorant to threaten Southern society, black men in arms were also the greatest evil of Reconstruction (p. 275). Readers are asked to sympathize with aristocrats whose slaves were emancipated, but to waste no pity on the contemptible rabble who voted for democratic politicians (pp. 19, 21).

How does one account for this commentary by an articulate, intelligent woman? Is it ordinary racism? Ignorance generated by obsession with class status? Amorality natural to most American political families? The reader cannot be certain. Much of the memoirs is descriptions of fashions, the social gossip of friends, and effusions about tea parties, dances, etc. Rarely informative, even this small talk prods the reader with questions. Must Washington "belles" always tell us about planting red roses at the White House or exchanging French bonnets while their husbands bomb Southeast

Asia or break up the Union? Does national tragedy or moral crisis induce feminine factitiousness? More likely, wives of the powerful remember and ponder the important, but write for readers who, until recently, have demanded that their public women be frivolous and uninteresting.

Towson State College

RODERICK N. RYON

*Confederate Propaganda in Europe, 1861-1865.* By CHARLES CULLOP.  
(Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1969. Pp.  
160. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$6.95.)

In this slender volume, a revised doctoral thesis, the author attempts "to show the nature and scope of Confederate efforts to influence public opinion and governmental policy" abroad and "to shed light on the more important personalities involved" in that task. Of necessity, the book focuses on the work of Henry Hotze, one of Jefferson Davis' more talented agents operating in Europe. In eight chapters and an epilogue Cullop traces the foundations of Southern propaganda and Hotze's role in it, the establishment and operation of the *Index* and that paper's relationship to the larger objectives of Confederate diplomacy. There are chapters on the DeLeon mission and its unhappy conclusion, on the British propagandists, on the efforts to counter Union recruitment abroad, and on the Continental public relations campaign. It is a fascinating subject, about which, as the author reminds us, there is a "dearth of information."

While the book has some solid virtues, it has some serious flaws as well. When compared to other recent works in its genre (one thinks immediately of the fine studies by Joseph Hernon and Stuart Bernath) *Confederate Propaganda in Europe* is, all in all, a disappointing book. One comes away from it feeling that only a part—and that the lesser part—of the story has been told, that the author ought to have spent an equal amount of time in foreign archives and newspapers. In this day of sophisticated, multi-archival research, it is difficult to understand the failure to investigate foreign sources. The story would seem to hinge on the impact of the Southern message on statesmen and publicists abroad—yet this book virtually ignores that facet of the problem. We are told much of Southern activity but little of the far more important impact of that activity on the leaders of British opinion, and much of what is said on that subject comes from the hardly-impartial Confederate agents. Much is made of Hotze's "success," but it is not entirely clear (ex-



cept in the narrowly technical sense) in what ways he was so. At one point Cullop says, on the authority of Hotze, that Confederate propaganda had made a "deep impression" in London clubs. But one would very much like to know what, if anything, members of Her Majesty's government said and thought about the *Index* and its message. After a fair sampling of the papers of the leading British statesmen of the period, this reviewer can recall only minimal mention of the paper and even less discussion of its content. When, for example, in the autumn of 1862 the Queen's ministers contemplated a more vigorous role in the war, there is little evidence to suggest that propaganda played any important part in their deliberations. This is not to say, of course, that the *Index* did not reach or influence important leaders, but only to stress that Cullop has not demonstrated that influence because he has not consulted the sources where such information might be found. It would seem vital to his theme.

At another level of analysis a different defect appears. One ventures to suggest that perhaps the author's conception of his task was too narrow. He provides no speculative essay such as Ernest May produced for American imperialism. If a variant of May's method should prove applicable to analysis of the foreign view of the Civil War, what a contribution such a study would make, how brilliantly it might light up that shadowy area where public opinion impinges on the formulation of foreign policy. If it be objected—a fair objection—that few scholars could follow the trail blazed by that distinguished Harvard Professor, the fact remains that recently two young historians have contributed convincing evaluations of facets of European public opinion. *Celts, Catholics and Copperheads* surveyed a portion of the Irish press, and one has little difficulty in accepting those findings. More recently, *Squall Across the Atlantic* examined an impressive array of press sentiment on the British reaction to the Civil War prize cases, and again the conclusions are acceptable. But Cullop asks us to accept, on the basis of an examination of a handful of newspapers (only four foreign ones are listed in the bibliography), a claim that the British press was "safely in Confederate control." Anyone who has tried to sort out the ambiguous response of British newspapers will find that generalization hard to swallow. Others go down equally hard.

Then, too, in this book one misses any sense of excitement over the fascinating reappraisals now underway on the foreign response to the American war. Current research may require modification of some of the author's views: statements about British working class sympathy for the North (such as the one on p. 26) may need qualification when the work of Mary Louise Ellison, "The Reaction of

Lancashire to the American Civil War," becomes better known; some students of the war might challenge the claim that Hotze "had no equal among all the Confederate officials sent to Europe;" the treatment of the Napoleonic response will need refinement to take account of the monumental researches of Lynn Case and Warren Spencer in their model study, *The United States and France: Civil War Diplomacy*.

And surely, the story of James Spence and his rather curious connection with the Confederacy would be a most welcome contribution to our understanding of the foreign response to the war and of the role of British propagandists who supported the South. History would like to know more of the enigmatic Spence, but in assessing his character and the reasons for his break with Richmond, Cullop adds little that we do not already know from *King Cotton Diplomacy*.

Queens College, City University of New York

FRANK MERLI

*Washington Walked Here.* By MOLLIE SOMERVILLE. (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis, 1970. Pp. 256, illus., index. \$9.50.)

Alexandria, one of America's surviving colonial towns, is most deserving of historical narrative. It is not only a most charming city to visit, with an aura of a living past in cobblestone streets and homes lacking that artificial quality which distinguishes reconstructions, but it also has a close association with our national past from the Revolution through the Civil War. A planned city, Alexandria was created by the Virginia legislature in 1748 in response to the need for a port near an existing tobacco warehouse. From the beginning its growth was regulated by a board of trustees following closely lines surveyed by young George Washington, who was intimately connected with the city throughout his life. Other famous Virginians played roles in the town's creation and growth, among them George Mason and the Fairfax family of "Belvoir." *Washington Walked Here* is in part their story, in the town of which they helped to create and which drew both life and breath from Virginia's late eighteenth century plantation society.

The land adjoining Alexandria is traced from original grants and grantees to the creation of the town; thus *Washington Walked Here* begins with late seventeenth century Virginia. Alexandria, its land, economy, society and inhabitants at various periods in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are presented in a series of charming sketches. Mrs. Somerville, who specializes in the history of the Dis-

trict of Columbia and vicinity, has concentrated on the colonial and early national periods, but the later nineteenth century is not ignored, and she concludes with a chapter on recent urban renewal programs. Flashbacks used in the early chapters might be somewhat confusing. Once Alexandria is created, one is able to follow its life in detail. The illustrations are excellent—a combination of original contemporary documents, drawings and paintings with modern photographs; one should take *Washington Walked Here* on a tour of Alexandria. One finds the descriptions of the city and its people so fascinating that one wishes less attention had been paid to Washington and Mason as Alexandria's famous native sons. Mrs. Somerville's enthusiasm for detail is reflected even in the choice of type and the interesting format of the index. Well written and beautifully illustrated, *Washington Walked Here* should be appreciated by all who enjoy tangible reminders of America's past as well as those interested in local history.

Catonsville Community College

BAYLY ELLEN MARKS

*Montgomery College: Maryland's First Community College.* By WILLIAM LLOYD FOX. (Rockville, Maryland: Montgomery College, 1970. Pp. xi, 115. \$1.95.)

The history of Montgomery College, as Dr. William Fox has set forth in *Montgomery College: Maryland's First Community College*, is a well-integrated account of the unifying forces contributing to the present status of the institution. Dr. Fox, a member of the history faculty of Montgomery College for all but the first of its twenty-five years, has written about his school from a foundation of direct experience and involvement in its development. Few historians have such a vantage point from which to select and interpret historical materials.

Dr. Fox presents his chronicle of Montgomery College in four well-documented and easily-read chapters. Each seems to focus on a developmental stage of the college—the first its idea and founding, the second its struggle for identity, the third its growth to a second campus, the fourth its life in retrospect. In each period, he identifies people, events and forces of developmental and historical importance to a good cross section of the institution's total program and community. The genesis of function, structure, curricula, college traditions, governing procedures, extra-curricular activities and community projects is given attention. In the narrative, Dr. Fox

artfully blends empirical data taken from official records with personal comments elicited through interviews and correspondence with people who helped shape the college. He helps reader perspective by introducing his account with a brief, backgrounding section on the history of the two-year college in the United States.

In historical writing, the data are only the raw materials of the narrative. Its selection and interpretation always reflect the historian's beliefs and values. The reader cannot help but sense the author's sensitivity to the importance of faculty forces in setting the character of Montgomery College. It is very difficult to refute the weight given to the faculty as a primary shaping influence, and my own knowledge of the college entirely supports his interpretation.

Although it was the last of all the institutions of higher education in the United States to develop, the community college is probably the first to emerge as a uniquely American idea. Montgomery College, like many other public, two-year schools, holds a special place and serves a special function in the special community it purports to serve. Dr. Fox's book is a description of how it came to be as it is. It balances good and bad, mentions tensions and problems, and cites achievements and frustrations. Maryland educators will have a particular interest in this book because it illuminates a number of the contemporary problems of higher education in the State. The book has literary merit and provides a factual introduction to a College which is representative of the many now forming the most significant movement in higher education of our day.

*The American University*

BERNARD A. HODINKO

*Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Robert Goodloe Harper Family Papers.* Edited by BAYLY ELLEN MARKS. (Baltimore: The Maryland Historical Society under the sponsorship of the National Historical Publication Commission, 1970.)

The splendid project to make the manuscript collections housed in the nation's archives and historical societies generally available to scholars on microfilm has now begun to reach into the ranks of the "nearly great." One can only applaud the effort.

The early national period had its Robert Goodloe Harpers as well as its Washingtons, Hamiltons, Marshalls, and Adamses, and it may be that Harper was as representative of his party and his era as these other gentlemen. Lisle Rose has certainly done much to resurrect the southern Federalists and to demonstrate that they are as worthy of scholarly investigation as their northern brethren.

Harper rose from North Carolina frontier obscurity to a position

of power and influence in the Federalist Congresses of the middle and late 1790's. His place in history was fixed by his enthusiastic participation, and indeed leadership, in the "High Federalist" campaign to defend the United States from the French enemy without and the domestic foe within. During the French Crisis of 1798 Robert Goodloe Harper was a leading figure in the attempt to suppress the Republican opposition, and no Gallophobic voice was louder, no nativist spokesman more strident.

He retired to Baltimore following the verdict of 1800, married into the family of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and rose to prominence as an important figure in the star-studded Maryland Bar, practicing before the Supreme Court as well as the major Maryland courts. Harper quickly became involved in Maryland politics and was a major factor in the revival and longevity of the Federalist Party in that state.

Miss Bayly Ellen Marks has done a first rate job of preparing the various Harper letter collections in the Maryland Historical Society for microfilm. The *Guide* also prepared by the editor describes in detail the contents of each of the five rolls and will be most helpful to scholars wishing to use the papers.

Towson State College

JOSEPH W. COX

*Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers During the American Revolution.* Translated by WILLIAM L. STONE. Da Capo Press Reprint Series: The Era of the American Revolution, General Editor Leonard W. Levy. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970. Pp. x, 258. Index. \$13.50.)

Between 1776 and 1782, German scholar August Schlözer edited a monthly magazine called *Schlözer's Letter Exchange* as a public outlet for personal letters written by German mercenary officers serving in various foreign wars. Over a century later American historian William Stone translated the letters appearing in this periodical that dealt with the American Revolution. The resulting volume, originally published in 1891, has now been reprinted by Da Capo Press.

Of the nineteen letters reproduced here, nine are closely enough related to form a fairly coherent if episodic narrative. This group of letters concerns the Germans who fought under the ill-fated Burgoyne. They follow the mercenaries from their arrival in Canada in late 1776 through the Saratoga campaign and into their captivity in Massachusetts and western Virginia. Nine other letters give glimpses of German soldiers in the service of George III in New

York, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Georgia. The final contribution—and the only one from the American camp—is particularly valuable for the insight it provides into the character of its author, Baron von Steuben.

Ranging in length from a single paragraph to sixty-six pages, the letters also vary widely in content and historical value. Several officers write about the maneuvers and battles of the armies, but accounts of actual military operations do not dominate the contents of this volume. Descriptions of the soldiers' life and experiences in camp or on the march are, as might be expected, a frequent topic. In addition, most of the letters contain more or less extensive descriptions of the country through which their authors passed and observations on the people of Canada and America. These impressionistic views of life in the New World, often by intelligent and perceptive observers, will be for many readers the most rewarding sections of the book.

Some of Stone's numerous footnotes contribute to an understanding of the letters by identifying persons and places mentioned or clarifying obscurities in the text. Other notes illustrate the penchant of many nineteenth-century writers for "curious anecdotes," while a few are mere asides.

This volume should prove of value to some specialists in the field of American Revolutionary history. It will be welcomed as well by readers who enjoy exploring the byways of the past through the eyes of contemporaries. Such persons will be grateful to Da Capo Press for making this old work more readily available.

*University of Virginia*

JAMES HAW

*The Making of an American Jewish Community: The History of Baltimore Jewry From 1773 to 1920.* By ISAAC M. FEIN. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1970. Pp. 368. \$6.50.)

Dr. Fein, an Eastern European immigrant who came to the United States in 1923 and to Baltimore in 1943, has written the first comprehensive and sympathetic account of the making of an American Jewish community. The city is Baltimore; but much which is descriptive of Baltimore's Jewish community is characteristic of a dozen other Jewish communities with major or minor variations.

"From 1773 to 1920." Why these years? Because in 1773 the first permanent Jewish settler, Benjamin Levy, appeared in Baltimore and advertised in a local newspaper that he had opened a general store. Because 1920 was not only the last year of unrestricted Jewish

immigration, but it was also the year when the formation of the Associated Jewish Charities merged and integrated the philanthropies and interests of the *two* separate and often antagonistic Jewish communities—the “uptown” and “downtown,” the German and the Russian, the native and the “greenhorn.”

Many local histories—Jewish and others—are exercises in genealogy and a “roll call” of their “great men” and their contributions to society. There were important men and women in Baltimore Jewish history, too, but this volume is concerned with the many individuals who never got their pictures in the paper nor their names in the headlines, but who made their presence known and their voices heard through the organizations and institutions they created and maintained.

The book is divided into four chapters. “The Pioneering Age: the Colonial Period” starts with the first known Jew in Maryland, the “Jew doctor,” Jacob Lumbroso, who, in 1658, entered the pages of history as the defendant in a trial for “blasphemy”—a crime which, under Maryland’s “Toleration Act,” carried the death penalty—and who was saved from the gallows only by a proclamation of amnesty upon Richard Cromwell’s succession to the Protectorate. The chapter concludes with the founding of Maryland’s first synagogue in 1830—the true beginnings of a community.

“The Formative Years: 1830 to 1855” deals with the period of German immigration when Jews came to Baltimore as part of an influx of Germans so massive that it created a “German colony” in Baltimore. During these years the poor, and largely uneducated, Jewish peddlers gradually established a foothold on the economic ladder and, more important, laid the foundation for the synagogues and institutions which forged the scattered families into a community pledged to “take care of its own.”

“The Years of Dissension and Expansion: 1855 to 1880” saw the community grow in size and affluence, and also saw the growth of religious dissension. Rabbis with hard-nosed viewpoints led their flocks into violent and vituperative diatribes against other congregations. Bitterness flared over the differences of opinion on the “slavery question” and secession, and over the conflict between traditional Jewish practices and the “American Way.” By 1880, however, a native-born generation was in control, and these issues had either become “moot” or no longer worth quarreling about.

The last chapter “From Discord to Unity: 1880 to 1921” starts with the tidal wave of Russian Jewish immigration which engulfed the “American Jews” and which set up so many barriers—language, religious practices, physical appearance, ideologies and, most of all, economic differences—between the native and the foreign-born, that

a veritable "Berlin Wall" separated the two Jewish groups. But time heals all, and forty years later the two communities found that they had more in common than at issue—and that what they most had in common was a need and desire to help their less fortunate brothers. With the merger of the "uptown" Federated Jewish Charities and the "downtown" United Hebrew Charities, the Jewish community of Baltimore achieved unity—a unity with room for differences and not without "family quarrels," but nevertheless a solid front against want, sickness and ignorance, and against foes at home or abroad.

All these events are viewed in historical perspective with tolerance, understanding, and sympathy for every viewpoint; with the realization that these were honest and sincere people who had accepted the challenge, if not all the rituals, of their ancient heritage, and who achieved their ultimate unity, not in helping themselves, but in helping others.

Dr. Isaac M. Fein is Professor Emeritus of the Baltimore Hebrew College where he taught for a quarter of a century. During nine of those years he was also curator of the Jewish Historical Society of Maryland. He now resides in the Boston area where his descendants live; and, like an old fire-horse responding to an alarm, he has recently assumed the curatorship of the newly-founded Greater Boston Jewish Historical Society.

Although published by the Jewish Publication Society, the writing of the book was made possible through the sponsorship of the Jewish Historical Society of Maryland. That Society and Dr. Fein himself have maintained close relations with the Maryland Historical Society. Among the 831 footnote references in the book to source materials, the archives of the Maryland Historical Society are frequently credited. Dr. Fein, in the preface, graciously acknowledges the contributions of Mr. Manakee and Miss Holland in the gathering of material and illustrations.

*Jewish Historical Society*

LESTER S. LEVY

*American Place-Names: A Concise and Selective Dictionary for the Continental United States of America.* By GEORGE R. STEWART. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970. Pp. xi, 550. \$12.50.)

Combining his interests in history, geography, linguistics, and folklore, George Stewart has produced a dictionary of American place-names which is both a fascinating and scholarly addition to materials in this field. A handful of other less significant works exist on this subject, including Henry Gannett's *The Origin of Certain*



*Place-Names in the United States* (1902), Myron J. Quimby's *Scratch Ankle, U.S.A.* (1969), and Alfred Holt's *American Place Names* (1969). Stewart's *Dictionary of American Place-Names*, however, is the most detailed and complete etymological study of the names of places in the continental United States. The author has chosen to deal with approximately 12,000 place-names (out of a possible 175,000). These have been selected because of their appeal to the general reading public. Stewart's principal task has been to explain the motivations behind the choice of each name. He spends a considerable amount of time exploring the derivation of names of well-known places, of commonly used names, and of curious names (defined by the author to include non-English names, coined names, 'mistake names,' and provocative names).

In his excellent Preface and Introduction, Stewart discusses the many factors that influence the derivation of place-names. Many place-names in the United States have been inspired by the linguistic background of their original inhabitants, whether Indian, Spanish, French, or English. Other place-names have been affected by literature, folk-lore, politics, and religion. Human error, humor, and natural phenomena have also had their impact. This analysis of the sources of place-names adds so appreciably to the individual notations that one wishes Mr. Stewart had developed these explanatory sections even more fully. However, for the reader who is interested in such elucidation, there exists his earlier explanatory work, *Names on the Land*.

Each citation in the dictionary includes the geographical location of the place-name, the linguistic derivation and translation, and the motivation for the choice of the name. One discovers, for example, that both Alaska (an Aleutian term) and Maine were so named by islanders or seafarers to signify the geographical position of these areas on the mainland of the American continent. Podunk, contrary to our twentieth-century associations, is derived from a tribal name, probably meaning swamp. Likewise, some of the more colorful American names, such as Poke-O-Moonshine, or Millimagassett are derived from Algonquian roots. The only important omission in Mr. Stewart's work is a pronunciation guide, which would be particularly helpful for tribal and foreign terms.

Whatever minor flaws exist, these do not detract from the significance of Mr. Stewart's volume. For those Americans who have accepted place-names without query or analysis, this dictionary will add immeasurably to their awareness of the history of the names around them. In addition, Stewart's work is a striking reminder of the cultural and linguistic diversity of the American heritage.

# NOTES AND QUERIES

## INFORMATION WANTED

"Desire information concerning any silver made by Joseph P. Meredith, Baltimore 1824 to 1848 to compare with that of James Meredith, Winchester, Virginia, 1827 to 1860. Silver books show punch marks to be identical."

J. MEREDITH

Please write to:

Virginia L. Miller  
133 South Braddock St.  
Winchester, Virginia, 22601.

*Information wanted:* PYLE FAMILY. We are collecting information of the descendants of the early families of Pyle (& Pile) of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, North Carolina, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana. Will exchange information and provide family sheets. Hope to publish. Please write to Howard and Jane Pyle, 1546 W. Jefferson, Kokomo, Ind.

*Information wanted:* Any Information and especially photographs of movie theaters in Baltimore before 1920 would be appreciated.

Please contact:

Robert K. Headley, Jr.  
6510 41st Ave.  
Hyattsville, Maryland 20782

*Information wanted:* The Corning Museum of Glass is interested in information on glass engravings of Baltimore scenery and buildings, especially a nineteenth century engraving of the Baltimore Monument.

Please contact:

Jane S. Shadel, Assistant Curator  
The Corning Museum of Glass  
Corning, New York, 14830

Cover: Albert C. Ritchie, 1876-1936—Governor of the State of Maryland, 1920-1935.